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THE

LAST YEAR

IN

CHINA,

TO THE

PEACE OF NANKING:

AS SKETCHED IN LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS,

BY

E E 466

A FIELD OFFICER

ACTIVELY EMPLOYED IN THAT COUNTRY.

WITH

A FEW CONCLUDING REMARKS

ON

OUR PAST AND FUTURE POLICY

IN CHINA.

XA-i-6

Second Edition, revised.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1843.

ref.
715.1

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE First Edition of this Work having passed rapidly through the press, a few errors occurred, which are now corrected. A few more notes have also been added in this Edition, which the Author hopes will not be found uninteresting.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following Letters are published in the belief that any authentic accounts, however slight, of late events in China, will, at the present moment, be interesting to the public. A few months may produce more elaborate works on the same subject. In the meantime, a few sketches, which possess the advantage of having been written at the times and places to which they refer, may not prove unacceptable.

In these pages will be found no detailed account of our military operations. The despatches were then too recently written; and the Author has no confidence in *histories* composed so close upon the events they pretend to

narrate, that proper testimonies and authorities cannot have been consulted. This opinion has been strengthened by the recent instance of an officer, who has described events which occurred since his departure from the scene of action, just as a grave historian would state facts established on the best authority.

The writer relates that the General displayed his humanity by stopping the slaughter at the repulse of the Chinese before Ningpo. The circumstance in itself was not improbable, for the General was always exceedingly humane. But, unfortunately, being absent at Chusan, he heard of the attack and repulse at the same time, and had no opportunity to display humanity on the occasion. However, I will leave to others the task of exposing the errors prevalent on the subject of the attack on Ningpo, because I was not there myself. I have only noted the error to which I could myself bear witness.

I the less regret having written so little

about our active operations, because I know the public take little interest in our engagements with the Chinese.

It has been the misfortune of the troops in China, that ever since the success of Sir Hugh Gough before Canton, and the subsequent arrival of the Admiral and Plenipotentiary, our operations in China have been a succession of victories. Had we had an army unaccountably destroyed in winter quarters, or had our ladies fallen into the hands of the Chinese, our proceedings would have at once awakened greater interest, and been viewed in a more favourable light.

But in China we did not permit our ladies to approach the scene of operations. Quietly settled in India, or, at the nearest, in Hongkong and Macao, they ran little chance of interesting the British public, or of ornamenting a Tartar seraglio. Deprived of female society, we were truly "outer barbarians," and lost all interest in fair eyes.

We must, however, make an exception in favour of those who have duly established their claims to be lions by having lived in cages. Mrs. Noble, especially, was highly, though unintentionally, honoured by the Chinese, being taken for nothing less than the sister of the Queen of England. By the by, the contempt in which the Chinese at that time held us, may be judged of by their treatment of what they considered so illustrious a personage.

But if Europeans in China are comparatively uninteresting, there can be no doubt that the case is very different with regard to the Chinese themselves, and their very flowery land; and it is under this impression, as already stated, that this small volume, which concludes with a few remarks on our past and future policy in China, has been published.

As Mr. Pickwick said of his stockings, so the Author may say of these pages, — "Have you any objections to these letters *as letters?*" — for they pretend to no higher character.

THE

LAST YEAR IN CHINA.

LETTER I.

On board the "Kyd," Penang Harbour,
23d August, 1841.

MY DEAR ——,

I embarked at Madras on the evening of the 10th, and we sailed at half past six the following morning, with a favourable land-breeze for a start. We had a few passengers for Penang and Singapore: but I was the only one bound for China. The rest of our passengers consisted of native convicts and monkeys,—these last the property of the sailors. The convicts, 31 in number, we have landed here, and they will be employed by government chiefly, I believe, as at Madras, in road-making. Many of them have, together with their names, the word "*murder*" branded on their foreheads.

There was no escort required on board ship, and they had (except now and then as a punishment) only chains on their legs. Such is the contempt of Europeans for natives.

The first part of our voyage was quick. We passed the Nicobar Islands early on the 15th, where the captain and part of the crew of "The Pilot" were murdered last year; but the four next days we made but little progress, owing to calms and light variable winds. On the following days we saw successively the Brothers, Bouton, Pera, Laddas, and Lancavas Islands, &c.; and at last the Malay coast and Penang. The last two days, or rather nights, were enlivened by squalls from the Sumatra coast, which did not affect us, there being little or no sea in these straits. We lay to, however, the night before anchoring, for some hours. Still our voyage has been a good one, considering the season of the year. We anchored about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st, after a voyage of 10 days and 9 hours. The "Vansittart," a ship of the same tonnage as ours (1400), started 3 days before us, and arrived 24 hours after us. She may, however,

yet be the first in China, as she starts in a couple of days, and our stay is uncertain. The ransoming of Canton by the Chinese, of which I have just heard, makes me fear the possibility of my arriving too late: but I console myself with thinking on the happily inflexible stupidity of the brother of the sun. It is impossible, I should think, now to obtain peace without an embassy to China, to undeceive the poor emperor as to the victories he has gained: and if the embassy can go no other way, we must send to the Gulf of Pechele an escort of 10,000 men.

Penang is a very rainy place. Its own hills and those of the opposite coast attract all the clouds, and when they have collected a sufficient quantity, roll them on the plains and waters below. Between showers it is very close. The night before anchoring, we had two squalls and very heavy rain. The second found me lying, bathed in perspiration, and drove me out of bed to avoid a more ordinary bath.

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All the passengers landed soon after we anchored at Penang.

At the landing-place the Major and I got into a palanquin carriage, to set off for the house where we were to tiff—some two or three miles. These Penang carriages have no seats for the driver, who runs alongside of his horse, which he holds by a string or rope. Their ponies come from Atcheen, and go very fast. To the eye they are not comparable in strength to the Pegu; yet those which I saw yesterday showed no deficiency in that quality.

In driving along, I was first struck by the unusual greenness of the grass, which in Madras generally resembles hay. The heavy rain, which falls plentifully in Penang, accounts for the difference. The roads are good and wonderfully numerous, diverging in every direction. The hedges of the dwarf bamboo, in some places regularly cut like an English boundary hedge, give a great appearance of comfort, and might be easily introduced into Madras*, to the great improvement of our garden houses. At the roots of these hedges, the little pine-apple trees are growing, and when the fruit is

* Where it is almost impossible to make a hedge of any sort grow well.

ripe they must give a gay and picturesque effect to the roads. Cocoa-nut trees abound, but the great production of the island is the nutmeg tree, which meets the eye in every direction. The tall rabustan tree, the fruit of which tastes like an acid gooseberry, and is enclosed in a prickly scarlet shell, is also a picturesque object.

But the *mangosteen* (don't imagine, from its name, it has any resemblance to the mango) is *the* delicious fruit of Penang. The shell is of a reddish brown colour, of the size of a small apple, and rather thick. The fruit in the inside is equally delicate to sight and taste, being very white and luscious. Potatoes will not grow in Penang, and to an Englishman this is generally a great evil. There are, however, plenty of other vegetables, for those to whose gastronomical happiness a potato is not a *sine quâ non.*

Owing to the too great moisture, cattle, it is said, do not flourish. Meat is indifferent, and people live chiefly on fish and poultry. There are some huge buffaloes here used in draught, which are the largest I have yet seen, not even

excepting the more hideous, long-nosed, black monsters of the Nilgherry Hills.

There is a kind of grass used in thatching here which appears very dry and combustible, but which, I was assured, would with difficulty burn. I ventured the solution, "no wonder, when it is always raining here!"

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The view on entering the harbour of Penang was much admired by our passengers: but, unfortunately for its charms, it reminded me of the West Indian harbours — of Grenada — of St. Vincent — and (above all) of Trinidad; with which, in point of beauty of scenery, poor Penang can bear no comparison. The inhabitants of this last, on the other hand, may almost vie with the negroes in hideousness. Of this I will only observe that, in comparison of the Malays, Siamese, &c., who form the bulk of this population, the few Chinese I observed amongst them appeared positively handsome, spite of shaved crowns and long tails. Yet the former people are not so dark as the Hindoos,

and perfectly fair when compared with the negroes.

The Chinese hats † and umbrellas made of leaves, which appear to be common to the different nations here, and particularly to the peasants working in the field, have a picturesque effect; and from their shape and size it would appear that the Penangees are not indifferent to the preservation of their complexions.

Considering that Penang, *alias* Prince of Wales's Island, is not *much* more than half the size, and *not* a tenth of the importance of Barbadoes, I think you will have had enough of it for one bout. I may, if we remain a week longer, send a further account.

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† These hats in China are worn only by the agricultural peasants while working in the field.

LETTER II.

"General Kyd," off Penang,
29th August, 1841.

I HAVE just come on board to write you a letter, for we are to sail to-morrow, and a vessel, "The Clarissa," arrived here yesterday, which goes in a few days to Madras, and will take this, though not in time I fear for the next overland.

On the 23d inst. I wrote to ——, but that letter will probably also go to Madras by the "Clarissa." I hope to find lots of letters awaiting my arrival at Singapore.

Since I wrote to ——, I have made two inland expeditions, one to the *Great Tree*, and another to the top of the Government Hill of Penang.

Nay, I had almost forgotten to mention another, the first inland expedition I made, viz. to an estate called Glugar, the property of a Mr.——. Mr. H—— of the 24th N. I. drove me out in his palanquin carriage. The pony—an

obstinate little devil—gave great trouble going, and greater in returning. Indeed, on the way home, he stopped quite suddenly; and nothing being able to urge him on, it was necessary to take him out of the shafts, and to send for another, which had been posted half way. It was raining hard, and my companion got wet through while urging, belabouring, and finally unharnessing the pony.

I spent an agreeable day at Glugar, where there was no lack of amusement; archery, billiards, and, in the afternoon, riding. I have not seen, in India, so pretty an estate as Mr. ——'s. The forest of clove and nutmeg trees—the undulating grounds—the sea—Province Wellesley not far beyond—the Penang Hill behind, with its thick jungle of large trees, and its mountain road—all these formed a scene of great beauty.

In the afternoon three or four of the party mounted Atcheen ponies; but unluckily we went to the stables and dismounted there, for the remounting was no joke and not easy of accomplishment. The little brutes kicked, reared, and struck at their would-be riders, with the

fore legs as well as the hind. We had a good gallop nevertheless, though the rain put an early stop to it. Returning, to escape a ducking, we overtook a herd of cattle: the latter were set off at speed by the huge dogs of the grey and bloodhound breed, which accompanied us; but by charging at full gallop we gained the lead at last, and so escaped the not improbable chance of a counter-charge.

These Atcheen ponies are fast and strong, but vicious and refractory.

There was a large dinner party in the evening. The house, itself comfortable, and even luxurious, is built in a picturesque fashion. The dining room, flanked by billiard rooms on either side, is entirely open towards the entrance steps. This would not be tolerable in Madras from the heat and glare; but here the grass and foliage are green and pleasant to the eye.

The following day we heard and read the news of the ransoming of Canton, of which, as I was, alas! not present, you will know as much as I do without my assistance. I fear (or rather I ought to fear) that this ransoming of Canton will contribute rather to prolong than

to terminate the war: because the Emperor will never be suffered to believe that we could have taken it; and the descendant of the sun will probably be told that celestial arms (not terrestrial gold) repulsed the presumptuous barbarians.

A day or two after, Lieutenant H—— and I visited the Great Tree. Part of the way we went in his vehicle and the rest on pony-back—a pretty ride. The tree is on the slope of a hill, so we had no great ascent to make. I recognised it as the Great Tree directly I saw it; though I had been told that even at a little distance it would not look so large as it is. It is believed to be a species of dammer tree. The natives call it the milk tree; because, when bruised with a stick, a milky or rather creamy substance, very white and soft, and somewhat glutinous, makes its appearance.

It is said to be thirty feet round the base (I think it is more), one hundred and ten feet up to the first branch, and at that height still twenty-one feet round. It has not many branches left, and it is said to be dangerous to stand under the tree in windy weather.

The trunk is very straight, like a huge mainmast. It is decidedly worth going to see, though seven miles from the harbour. From the spot there is a fine view of the island and sea; and the ride to it forms an agreeable morning excursion.

My last expedition was to the Great Hill yesterday. I went with Mr. H——, driving to the foot of the hill and riding up it. The road winds through a forest of trees of gigantic dimensions; and which appear the greater from a comparison with their dwarfish brethren of the Carnatic and Mysore. The little pony I rode carried me wonderfully well up and down, the road up being more than three miles long. The brow of the hill is not, I am told, more than 2500 feet above the sea; nor did I find any great difference of temperature between it and the plains.* But it was a very hot day; and besides, I was too lately on the Nilgherry Hills not to be disappointed with the highest in Penang. The view of the island, however, was very pretty, though it appeared marvellously small at that distance.

* I am told there is usually ten degrees difference.

The bungalow of Mr. Bonham (the governor of the Straits) had been lent to one of our party. We picnicked in it; and passed the day in seeing the three or four other bungalows on the hills. They are all uninhabited at this (the rainy) season of the year; but are pretty little wooden buildings, especially that of Mr. Bonham.

After breakfasting and dining on the hill, we prepared to return; but delayed on account of the rain, which commenced pouring in the afternoon. Finding at six that there appeared no chance of its clearing up, and being all of us quite unprepared to pass a night on the hill, we were obliged to set out on our steep slippery descent and get soaked through. The drive home from the foot of the hill, in our wet clothes, was no pleasant business to Mr. H—— and myself; for the remaining three of the hill party rode all the way to their homes. When I got to my young host's house, I washed myself with brandy and water (having no eau de Cologne on shore); and by this means I feel sure I escaped a very severe cold.

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The Madagascar steamer *

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touched here the day before yesterday on its way to China.

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NOTE.

On its way to the north of China the "Madagascar" steamer was burnt, and the crew and officers forced to land on the hostile coast. They were made prisoners, and though not injured (owing to their wearing no uniforms, and affecting to be traders), they were not over-well treated. They were finally marched to Canton without distinction of ranks; and there liberated, chiefly through the munificent kindness of Mr. Matheson, who advanced the money demanded as ransom, and provided the officers with clothes.

One of the officers told me that, when he arrived at Canton, he was covered with vermin. The full account of this adventure would be almost as interesting as that of the previously *becaged* prisoners.

LETTER III.

Singapore, 15th September, 1841.

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We did not sail from Penang till the 31st August, or, rather, we did not try till then; for, thanks to contrary winds and tides, we did not lose sight of that pretty island till the 4th instant, anchoring the best part of every twenty-four hours. Indeed, during the whole of the way down, we anchored every night, on account of the shoals and banks, light winds, and capricious tides. A small vessel, more daring, ran aground in the night; so the prudence of our captain found favour in our eyes.

The mosquitoes have been as an Egyptian plague to me all through the Straits. At first, I used to kill half a dozen in my cabin of a morning, by way of getting an appetite for

breakfast; but, finding the sport too hot, I have transferred the task to my servant. But it is of no use attacking such a hydra-headed monster. It is no consolation to hear leather-skinned old Indians assure you it is a sign of sweetness of blood, especially as it always brings on sourness of temper. I feel I could fight like — a Tartar, I was going to say; but that simile is exploded, since it appears the Tartars won't fight at all. But I really feel I could fight desperately in any spot where mosquitoes abound. Even now while I am writing, I am duly armed with a towel gracefully thrown over my (whack! whack!) shoulder, to keep off these anti-literary Vandals; and ever and anon I make a swinging blow through the air at my incessant tormentors. You can imagine my discomfort, and not wonder if my style should be rambling (whack! whack!) and incoherent. But if it is bad by day, it is torture at night; and I have hardly got a good night's rest since leaving Madras. I have slept two or three times wrapt in my cloak on the hard deck; but, as one of the ship's officers observed, there is small rest on such a couch.

We never lost sight of the Malay coast on the passage here from Penang; and we had a distant view of the town of Malacca.

Several ships were in sight every day; but our "Kyd" beat them all, when fairly sailing in company. I thought our lady passenger amiable and clever; she has come to Singapore to join her husband. The loss of her children, however, is to me great gain. I am the only passenger going on to China.

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By the news from China, I fear I shall be too late to join the expedition; and though it will not be my fault, it is still a great misfortune. However, I am not so superstitious as one of the quartermasters of this ship, who wishes to quit her, chiefly because he has had no luck since he came on board, having amongst other things run a nail into his foot; as though all the nails in the world were in the poor "Kyd." This fellow is a stout, resolute-looking animal; but it only shows the schoolmaster has much to do among sailors yet.

Our approach to Singapore was as tedious as

our departure from Penang. We were some four or five days coming the last hundred miles, anchoring half each day, and almost every night. When we got among the islands, which cluster round this harbour, we were nearly twenty-four hours going about a couple of knots an hour through the water, without advancing to our destination; but, on the contrary, receding. The tides seemed to be always against us. Finally we anchored in this harbour on the 12th.

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In comparison with Penang, Singapore is a flat barren sandbank. On the other hand the commerce here is very great, the fine harbour being full of shipping, and the river, which winds through the town (and which only does not remind me of Venice, because I never was there), is full of boats and barges. The town is large and well built, with some respectable public buildings. It is also the seat of the government of the Straits, and the entrepôt of all eastern commerce. The roads are not the worse for the flatness of the country.

By far the greater number of merchants and shopkeepers here are Chinese, whose fathers or grandfathers have emigrated from the flowery land. The population is chiefly Malay, of course; but there are great numbers of Chinese of the lower orders. I judge chiefly by observation, knowing no residents, except the few to whom my worthy captain has introduced me.

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LETTER IV.

Singapore, 15th Sept. 1841.

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I have told ——— what a long passage we had from Penang to this place. It was enlivened, however, occasionally, by severe Sumatra squalls, which come on very suddenly.

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I am sorry for this delay, but have had so many lessons of patience lately, that I am getting quite philosophical. There has been (on the 21st ult.) a terrible typhoon in China, dismasting a great number of vessels, while several have been wrecked and others lost, and a great many lives lost too. The Chinese prophesy another for the 31st inst.; but I hope they will turn out to be mistaken. We are taking up a lot of spars here, on a specu-

lation which the late disasters will probably render successful.

Singapore is a great place for spar-making. The tree used is the peon, peculiar, they say, to this coast. It is very hard and good; the spars of our "Kyd" are made of it.

I never mentioned before that we had a fine view of Mount Ophir, a few days before our arrival here. At first all but the highest point was hid by clouds; in the course of a few hours the clouds rolled away, and the whole was clearly visible, that is, all except the base, which could not be seen, the mountain being 70 miles off at the time. You may suppose there was no appearance of gold or even gilt at that distance. It looked beautifully blue in its "mountain majesty;" *au reste,* it was as like any other great mountain, as one pea is to another.

The fruits of Singapore are chiefly obtained from Malacca, its own sandy soil not being very productive.

The mangosteens do not taste so well as those of Penang; but they are nearly out of season.

The Malays, though ugly in face, are finer fellows in figure and height than any Orientals I have yet seen. They are said to be brave, fierce, and very vindictive. The Chinese, with their bald heads, flat moon-faces, and long tails, have notwithstanding a comparatively civilised appearance.

There appears to be a far greater European society here than at Penang; and indeed there is every evening a congregation of carriages at a place called the Course, in humble imitation of an Indian presidency. But the regiment here has no band; for Company's regiments are not obliged to have bands, and consequently often prefer the monthly jingling of a few more rupees to any music whose sweetness is gained at their expense.*

* In saying the Company's regiments in India are often without bands, no reflection is meant to be cast on them. In India the reason is well known. Here I may as well remark, that a Company's regiment has a far smaller complement of European officers than a Queen's; and a great many of them are absent on the staff, and therefore indifferent to a band. I should be sorry if the bands were optional in Queen's regiments; many, I fear, would cease to have them.

The Atcheen ponies here are no better than at Penang. On setting off, or rather on trying to set off, in a palanquin carriage to call on the Governor, the pony declined going on at all; and after he had backed till we were on the point of being upset, my companion and I got into another vehicle, which more happily reached its destination.

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Yesterday evening, one of the firm I have mentioned in a former letter wished to drive us to the Course in a pony phaeton; but the ponies had no such wish, and, after plunging and rearing for a quarter of an hour, smashed the pole of the carriage. Defend me from Atcheen ponies!

Most of the Chinese merchants and shopkeepers here speak English very well, as did Tonkong of Penang, well known by his Anglicised appellation of "Tom King."

I got a most exquisite cup of tea, though without milk, the other evening from a jolly old China merchant named Puntyan. The Chinese do not use sugar with their tea.

A vessel of war, "The Nimrod," is just come in from Calcutta, on its way to the north of China. I wish I knew the captain and could get a passage.

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We are already five weeks from Madras, while ——— (innocent soul!) talks of the *three weeks'* passage to China as likely to do me good! We have been thirteen days coming from Penang—about 250 miles; yet that was one day better than the average passage at this season. Besides the delay caused by light winds and dangerous shoals, all large ships are obliged to leave Penang by the north passage, the south being too shallow; and thus, if the wind is favourable for the passage down the Straits, it is unfavourable for leaving the island, and *vice versâ*.

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LETTER V.

The "Kyd," Singapore,
16th Sept. 1841.

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We got rid of our convicts here (and not at Penang as I had believed and hoped), as well as all the passengers excepting myself.

The roads at Singapore are very good, and are said to be greatly improved and multiplied in the course of the last two years, the result chiefly of convict labour, which does such wonders at Madras also. Road-making, though hard, is by no means unhealthy work, as the monthly medical returns of the Madras convicts so employed (* * *) fully testified. If I recollect right, the average sick was considerably less than among the sepoys. But it must be owned that Lord E. paid the subject much attention, having a peculiar taste for planning roads; and every resident in Madras can bear witness to the success of his exertions.

The evening before last, the captain, the purser, and myself went to see some opium-smokers. There had been, evidently, for two or three days a Chinese festival, and this was the closing, but apparently most important, day. As we passed through the streets, which were crowded with Chinese, we saw large tables laid out in the middle of the road, and scaffoldings at the sides raised to a great height, all covered with offerings arranged with the greatest neatness, and illuminated with huge wax tapers of various colours interspersed with blue and white flags. We stopped to look at one of the tables. The Chinaman * smiled, but did not appear at all offended at our curiosity. The offerings consisted of large cakes, fowls, heads of hogs, and all kinds of fruit and confectionery. At one end of the loaded oblong table was a row of the tiniest tea-cups made of China (about the size of those used for children's toys in England) filled with the celestial beverage, which formed part of the offerings.

The fruits, plantains, mangosteens, &c., were

* *Chinese* it should be, but *Chinaman* was the term commonly used by the expedition.

formed into tall thin pillars for the corners and sides of the tables.

All the offerings were transfixed by little thin joss sticks, which were lighted at one end, and burnt down like a fuse, only much slower.* I also observed a very lofty scaffolding, which was walled round on three sides and filled with men, I presume Buddhist priests.

The Chinese at Singapore are the sons or descendants of emigrants from the flowery land, and are said to be thorough-bred — only intermarrying among one another; which, if true, proves that females contrive to emigrate from China in greater numbers than is usually supposed at home.

Our Chinese guide — who had been lent us by that respectable old China merchant, called (errors in orthography excepted) Puntyan — now led us to the great temple, at one end of a court-yard, which we entered through a large gate. The temple, however, was very simply ornamented, and had nothing very peculiar to excite or gratify curiosity. At one side of the

* The principal ingredient in these joss sticks is, I grieve to say, manure.

court-yard was a gigantic scaffolding, covered with the usual oblations.

I am told all these offerings are duly devoured at the close of the festival, thus showing that these proceedings are only sacrifices in one sense of the word.

Our guide now took us to the opium-smoking divan, whose frequenters of course are of the very lowest orders. The first we went to see was a small narrow room, at one end of which a long-tailed clerk was writing in a book — keeping an account, doubtless, of what he was selling. There were about ten smokers lying with a very little clothing on a platform raised two feet above the floor, and which occupied nearly all the space. These men had not been long at their amusement, I suppose; for they did not appear very much affected by it.

The second smoking-house we visited presented a more interesting, that is, a more disgusting, sight. Some of the smokers appeared to be quite inebriated by the drug, particularly one man, who was sitting near the door on a stool, but who had done smoking. His arms and legs hung down as if they did not belong

to him; and he leered on us with meaningless, but very goodnatured smiles. The effect of excess in opium is more like idiocy, than ordinary intoxication. It steals away the brain like drink, but does not substitute fire, as the latter often appears to do. These poor wretches were very civil, and seemed some indifferent and others amused at our curiosity. I saw one of them urge another to make haste and give a whiff, on observing that I was in a hurry to go out, yet wished to see how this man, who was more horrid-looking than any of the rest, went through the process. I would not consent to go to any more shops.

The lower orders of Chinese * consider opium the first necessary of life, and class it (I am told) before rice, which to them is more than bread to us. It is a very expensive article, and the indulgence in it must consume nearly all the wages of the working classes. To prove still further the fascination of this drug, it is only necessary to describe the laborious process of smoking to those who have no servants.

* This remark applies only to Singapore.

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The smoker, having prepared his pipe, takes a little lump of opium on the point of a wire (resembling a straightened hair-pin) and lights it at a candle. He then forces the melted substance into the bowl, and inhales its steam in one long suction; and when that is puffed out, he has again to take to his wire, and to repeat the former process, before he can enjoy another whiff. A rich man would, I suppose, of course employ a servant to keep constantly burning his opium for him, otherwise the operation is very tedious. A gentleman told me that opium-smoking at Singapore is confined to the dregs of the people. I suspect, however, that the upper class of Chinese, here, smoke it in secret; just as many an old lady takes a quiet cordial at home, and throws the blame of a consequent red nose on the sun if it is summer, or on the frost if winter.

All I have heard of the civility and good-breeding of the Chinese is certainly borne out by my experience at this place. From that respectable moon-faced stout little gentleman, Puntyan, who is the pink of politeness, down

to the poor opium-smokers, I met with nothing but civility and attention. As for Puntyan, if you had seen him present me his fan, when I was sitting near him, and complaining of the heat, it was done with such a grace, you would have agreed with me, that he is the Chesterfield of Singapore; and his tea is so exquisite, that I always feel inclined, nautically speaking, to *make* it tea time, when I cross his threshold.

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A vessel of war, "The Nimrod," has left this harbour this morning, and will join the expedition as soon as she can. I wish I had known the captain; I would have asked for a passage in her. But all is pre-arranged.

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Letter VI.

"General Kyd," Singapore,
17th Sept. 1841.

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He rejoiced the very cockles of my heart this morning, by telling me that by the latest accounts the fleet is to winter at Chusan, and will not go farther north, should such a course be necessary, till spring. So there is, I trust, no fear of my being too late for any advance on the flowery capital. Sir Henry Pottinger has commenced operations with spirit. Though the fleet and army will winter at Chusan, Sir Henry proceeds at once to the north for the purpose, if possible, of immediately communicating with the Son of heaven, whose head has been too long above the clouds, for the noise we have made in the southern part of his dominions to have distinctly reached his elevated ears. Whether or no he will descend to

admit the envoy to his presence is uncertain. But Sir Henry's refusal at Canton to admit any functionary to treat with him, unless directly authorised by the Emperor, may show that celestial personage that it is time to yield, or to make preparations for a great war.

Captain Elliot is on his way to England, and it is a matter of speculation here what sort of reception he will meet with at home.

All Anglo-Indians storm against him and his policy. By defending the latter I have sometimes exposed myself at * * * * to a torrent of male and female eloquence, edged with sarcastic observations of my being left in a woful minority. All I used to maintain was this:—When the first troubles broke out in China, a large party in England, and probably a much larger in other countries, condemned our proceedings as most unjust and most wicked. But Captain Elliot's patience, his wrongs, his humanity, his readiness to negotiate, have long been contrasted with the violence, cruelty, treachery, and falsehood of the Chinese; so that, from the English having been the injuring, they have become the injured party. They have shown the greatest reluc-

tance to come to extremities; and thus when they do so come, they can strike with the greater decision and efficacy. The necessity of the war is *now* almost universally acknowledged, and other nations have comparatively ceased to interest themselves about the matter. No real time appears to have been lost, for the military preparations of the Chinese are very inefficient.

The *rôle* of pacification is over, and Captain Elliot goes; while Sir Henry comes out to relieve him, and to act as the avenger.

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As for me, though I do not expect it as certain, I shall not be surprised if Captain Elliot is very well received by the ministers at home. The six millions of dollars extracted from Canton may also help to procure him golden opinions. He is excessively popular personally, even with those who, allowing him to be accomplished and brave, deny him any share of judgment or decision;—two qualities somewhat necessary in war and politics.

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The hope of seeing Peking next spring has filled me with exuberant spirits. I am as happy as a king or an opium smoker, though the heat here is truly prodigious; not that the thermometer is very high (it is only 84 in my cabins), but the air is sultry and close.

NOTES.

The first part of this letter was written in the mistaken idea that Sir Henry Pottinger had succeeded to all Elliot's power, and could control the military operations, — a mistake of which the public generally seem now to be hardly disabused.

Lest some should fancy that officers were either accommodated with, or accustomed to pay for, two cabins, I must explain the conclusion of this letter, by informing them that, being the only passenger, the cabin next to the one I had originally taken was placed at my disposal by the captain. During the greater part of the expedition, in the regular transports, subalterns were considered very fortunate if

not *doubled up* in a cabin apparently not large enough to contain even one person. This, it must be recollected, was no temporary inconvenience. This fraction of a den formed their principal barracks for many months.

LETTER VII.

On board the "Sulimany" Transport, Hongkong Harbour, 13th October, 1841.

THE "Kyd" came no nearer this place than the Laura Island, eight miles off, where it anchored, I believe, for a day, and has gone on to Whampoa. Oh, such a tedious passage we have had from Singapore! To give you an idea of it, I send you some journal extracts; and I think you will allow it would not be easy in the same space of time to cram more squalls and calms.

NOTE.

The author does not think the journal extracts alluded to would be interesting to the general reader. With the exception of a small attempt at mutiny — a water spout — a piratical craft — and considerable anxiety at

times from sunken rocks, whose locality was not accurately settled in the chart,—the voyage was remarkable only for its length, and the almost daily squalls and calms.

Somewhere in this sea the head-quarters of the 37th Madras native infantry perished the year before: the colonel amongst them.

LETTER VIII.

On board the "Sulimany" Transport,
Hongkong, 16th Oct. 1841.

HERE I am in the hospital ship of the fleet, in a miserable little cabin of a transport; with nothing to do, and with no prospect of having any thing to do for some time. Another captain and myself are the only representatives (exclusive of servants, sick, and convalescents) of the * * regiment on board this vessel, both our companies being in the "David Malcolm" transport, where all the subalterns are doubled up two in a cabin. Our head-quarters are on board the "Futty-Salam," under the command of Col. Pratt. Col. —— being * * * * * of the expedition, went with the force to Chusan, whither a detachment of the 26th, under the command of Major ————, also went, — or rather was

to be left to winter at Amoy; for the dreadful loss from disease sustained by the 26th at Chusan last year made Sir Hugh Gough unwilling to take the regiment to the scene of its former misfortunes.

The hospital here is under charge of Dr. B. *of ours*,—a clever doctor, and agreeable man. A captain and subaltern of the 49th, left in charge of their men, and the captain and officers of the transport, complete the number of our mess on board the Sulimany.

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Excepting a few guards on shore, the force left here is in the harbour, and distributed amongst five or six transports. Including schooners and ten-gun brigs, we have also some five or six vessels of war.

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The wretched remains of the 37th Madras N. I. are chiefly in barracks on shore; that is, in hastily-built huts of sticks and rushes, where they are dying very fast. Indeed, if our loss through the enemy has hitherto been trifling,

that by sickness has been frightful. Nearly half the 26th, last year, was either buried in Chusan, or shipped off to die elsewhere, all in the course of seven or eight months. The greater part of the men are recruits, and yet there is no means of drilling them; and indeed they scarcely ever go on shore, owing to the distance. The 26th are just beginning ball practice, which will take each of the companies ashore three different times.

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The harbour here is very fine. It is enclosed by the mainland of China, and a number of islands. One of the titles of the Emperor of China is "King of Ten Thousand Islands," to which he is better entitled than to most of those he assumes.

High rugged hills meet your eyes in every direction, resembling some of the least productive of the West Indian Islands. Hongkong is a much safer harbour than Macao. Indeed, at the latter place vessels are never considered as secure any part of the year. Government is building at Hongkong houses for the magistrate and other public officers, gaols, guard-

houses, &c. But nothing has yet been decided on in respect to permanent barracks.

It is expected that the Macao merchants will swarm to Hongkong as soon as its permanency as a British settlement is established beyond a doubt.

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None but men-of-war can go up to the north at this dangerous season of the year, the monsoon being against us. Two vessels tried about a month ago. Both (the "Nerbuddah" transport and the Madagascar steamer) were wrecked. The crew of the latter have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

The deputy superintendant of trade, Mr. Johnstone, has been left in charge of the government of Hongkong. The principal business, however, in the present infant state of the colony, falls, it is said, on Captain Caine, the chief magistrate, who enjoys a great reputation for talent and activity.

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I trust he will be permanently appointed by the home government.

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The whole force left here at present, including the sick, is about 500 men, under the command of (local) Major-General Burrell, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 18th Royal Irish. Nearly all the 18th, 49th, and 55th, a detachment of the 26th, and the detachments of the Royal and Madras artillery have gone to Amoy and Chusan. I have no means of getting very accurate information on these subjects at present; but it would appear the whole force in China is about 2500 bayonets, and with these a hope of putting an end to the war is still entertained by some.

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At this place we are well, and cheerfully supplied by the Chinese boats, with their sails made of mattings. They go very fast, and are very well managed.

Most of the people talk a little English, and are very good-humoured, and ready to laugh and joke when encouraged.

18*th October*. — Since writing the above, I

have been several times on shore at Hong-kong. The bazaar there is not worth much: except some Chinese curiosities and fruits, there is nothing to supply one's wants. I hope to go on leave to Macao for a few days with Captain * * * *, and there, I understand, the shops are very good.

Our necessaries of life are supplied from Cowloon, a mandarin station on the main-land; which looks as if the gentry there did not wish to starve us into despair. A vessel has arrived from Amoy, where a detachment of the 26th and a wing of the 18th were left as a garrison, — about 600 men.

We hear that Ningpo and Chusan have been also taken; not, however, without loss on our side. When a garrison is left at Ningpo, and Chusan is occupied, our stupendous force will be divided into four armies, *averaging* about 600 men each.

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The troops at Amoy are well off for provisions; from which it is hoped those now at

Chusan will be better supplied than when last there.

The expedition to China is almost entirely an affair of Queen's troops. The Bengal Volunteers are reduced to less than 160 men; and the 37th Madras Regiment, the only regular native corps in China, is a mere skeleton — continues sickly, and consequently nearly useless.

A captain of the regiment told me they had been worked too hard. Either no native troops should have been sent, or treble the number, if the intention was by giving them the unhealthy duties to save the lives of the Europeans.

Notes.

The mortality of the 26th at Chusan occurred long before Sir Hugh Gough arrived and assumed the command at China. The care he always took of the sick, and the attentions he paid to them, render it highly probable that had he been at Chusan at the period in question, the mortality there would have been of far less fearful extent.

Many of the British merchants did not wait for the long-delayed sanction of government to the permanent occupation of Hongkong. Ten months after the date of the above letter, the author was two days again on shore at Hongkong. Never had he before witnessed so great a change in so short a time. The island, which when he first left it appeared like a rugged desert, was now, on the one side of it, covered with European habitations; while the native bazaar had equally improved both in appearance and in reality, thanks chiefly to the exertions of Mr. Johnstone.

In mentioning the general opinion regarding Captain Caine, it must be borne in mind that when this letter was written the island had scarcely any European inhabitants, and that the chief business was to preserve order and administer justice amongst the Chinese,—a duty naturally devolving on the chief magistrate. Mr. Johnstone's duties were then chiefly in, or with reference to, Macao. As shown in the previous note, a few months altered the aspect of Hongkong, and of

course gave even in this island many additional labours to its acting governor.

It is perhaps unnecessary, even for civilians in England, to say that the words "native troops" occurring frequently in these letters, means Sipahis, and *not* Chinese recruits; and that the words "the natives," when not applied to soldiers, means the Chinese, and not Indians. It seems a misnomer to speak of the Sipahis in China as the native troops; but it must be recollected that "native" is part of their style and title, to distinguish them from European troops.

LETTER IX.

Macao, 25th October, 1841.

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I have worn out my feet in walking on the stony, worse-than-Paris pavings of Macao; so I am resting this morning, and will write you a long letter.

Having obtained leave till the end of the month from my floating prison at Hongkong, for the purpose of going with Captain C——— to Macao, we started on the night of the 21st instant in a little brig ("The Thistle") placed at C.'s disposal by a Chinese merchant,—the first Chinese owner, I believe, of an English vessel.

It *had been* a very fine brig, and still sails well. In other respects, all praise of it must be of a retrospective nature. Indeed, on our arrival here, we heard it had been sold as a condemned vessel. At this season of the year

the wind is usually very favourable for going to Macao from Hongkong; and on going on board we expected to awake next morning anchored at our destination. We found ourselves, however, only about eight miles from Hongkong, having been becalmed nearly all the night. Luckily, though not expecting to require it, we had a small stock of provisions on board; and at half past eight we had just commenced attacking a good breakfast on deck, when a squall came on suddenly. The not half-eaten breakfast was obliged to be sent away; and the squall increasing to a gale, a prospect of misery was before us. The sails of the brig were rotten, the ropes worse, and the vessel itself exceedingly likely to leak. Fortunately we had on board the captain of the "Sulimany" transport, to whom C———, at my request, had given a passage to Macao. He is (besides being a gentlemanly well-connected young man) known to be a very good seaman. He also knew — what the rest of us did not — of the condemnation of the vessel; and, besides, saw that we were very likely to lose sails and spars, if not masts. Meantime we cracked

along at a great rate among the islands to the south of the large island Lantou; from the valleys of which last puffs occasionally came down with the force of hurricanes. The young man in charge of the vessel was evidently an indifferent sailor, and his mate, though active, not much more skilful. Our hands were few, five or six Manilla men and some Chinese boys; and, what was worse, the wind began to head us. At last, on Captain M—— of the "Sulimany" being appealed to for advice, he gave his voice for an immediate return to Hongkong; but we had not gone far in our retrograde voyage, before the eddy wind from the eastern part of Lantou came against us; and the captain of the brig, thinking the wind was once more favourable for Macao, proposed trying it. But, luckily, Captain M—— knew the freaks of the Chinese Boreas better; and at nine at night we were once more anchored at Hongkong; ——— and I were both sea-sick the latter part of the voyage. I thought I had out-grown or out-sailed sea-sickness, as it was some three years since I had been sea-sick before. To console us for our return to Hongkong, we

found that H. M. S. ——— had not only been obliged to put back, but had lost and torn some sails, &c. Captain M. and I returned to the "Sulimany," and the chief magistrate to his house at Hongkong, after a hapless voyage of more than twenty-four hours.

Next morning, however, nothing daunted, we again started in the "Thistle" at a quarter past ten, and arrived safely here at a quarter past four, a good voyage of six hours. This was owing to the skill of Captain M., who in fact took command of the vessel and brought us straight by the shortest cut to Macao, keeping close to Lantou whilst among the islands.

This passage is marked in some charts as unsafe; but it appears safe enough when the captain is well acquainted with the dangers to be avoided. These consist principally of two rocks, generally submarine.

In the bay of one of the numberless islands we saw some two or three hundred Chinese fishing boats, all at anchor together.

At the S. W. point of Lantou we saw, on a height, the remains of an old walled fort, supposed to have been one of the haunts of the

famous Coxinga the pirate, to whose political principles, some say, we are now giving the honour of British sanction and imitation. Subsequently, to our right, we saw Lintin at the mouth of the Canton river, an island with whose name we are now so familiar.†

Our little brig, drawing but a few feet of water, was enabled to anchor at the distance of only half a mile from the landing place at Macao, instead of four or five miles off among the shipping in this dangerous roadstead.

The town, which is unlike any thing I had seen before, has rather an imposing appearance from the harbour, which appearance is no doubt strengthened by the Portuguese forts that command the latter.

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Macao is, politically speaking, a very curious place. The Portuguese have a great many privileges; they have their own governor and a garrison of some 400 men, and rule themselves.

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I saw yesterday the Portuguese *army*, the

† Lintin has long been the seat of opium traffic.

numerous guards deducted, returning from mass at the great church. The men have by no means a despicable appearance. They are in general as dark as Mussulmans in the Carnatic: and indeed I was told that some of the recruits were actually Mussulmans.

The Portuguese fair ones (or rather *brown* ones) seem never to stir abroad; though they may be seen in the balconies of their houses in the cool of the evening. If you look up, they get behind the venetians, to pretend to hide themselves, and to take a peep at you. I have not yet seen a pretty face among them. Indeed, pretty ladies seldom hide themselves: *to be seen* is with them even a greater pleasure than to see. The venerable fathers of the convent, with their cocked or (as C—— calls them) cocked-up hats and long black gowns, and a lot of hooded nuns, may be seen abroad occasionally, the latter doubtless on their way to and from mass. Among these last I *have* seen one, or perhaps two, pretty pale faces, not more.

The English merchants here, though hospitable and friendly, cannot enjoy much society. A recent importation of English ladies has

swelled the amount of these links of social happiness to twelve, and another shortly expected will complete the baker's dozen. It is an astonishing fact (considering they are English) that these ladies are not all at daggers drawn with one another. Indeed, as the Portuguese are too poor to associate much with the English, our fair countrywomen are obliged to keep on tolerable terms with each other — a sad and cruel necessity, no doubt.

The English merchants feel very unsettled while awaiting the decision of the home government respecting the permanent occupation of Hongkong. The majority are, I think, in favour of the latter place as the seat, or rather depôt, of their trade. On the other hand, some, considering the vicinity of Macao to the Canton river, dwell on the advantages of adhering to the established order of things. The fact is, the merchants are splendidly housed here, though only as renters: otherwise the superior advantages of living under their own government, and having such a harbour as that of Hongkong, would be unanswerable arguments in favour of the latter place.

I have now been a fortnight in China, and have hitherto found the weather and climate very changeable. One day, soon after my arrival at Hongkong, my thermometer rose in the shade to near 90°. The next day it was never above 78°. On the morning of our first attempt to reach this place we commenced (for we never finished it) our breakfast on deck in our shirt sleeves. An hour or two after the squall had sprung up, my cloak over a pilot jacket was insufficient to keep me warm. In short, if you would consult your health and comfort in China, you may sometimes in the morning be clad as in a calm on the line, and in the afternoon of the same day as if passing the winter in Siberia. These sudden changes are very trying to delicate constitutions, and sometimes not a little so even to strong ones. To this, as well as to exposure to damp and to the sun, the sickness and mortality of the troops last year in Chusan may, I believe, be partly attributed.

I will now conclude this letter; but before leaving Macao I will write a long account of the Chinese, as I have and shall have *here* ob-

served them; for in Hongkong the population is chiefly composed of poor fishermen and very small shed owners. Their habitations can scarcely be called houses. "Chinchin"—i. e. good bye, in Macao-Chinese.

Notes.

A few months after this letter was written, the number of English ladies both in Macao and Hongkong was greatly increased, chiefly by the presence of the wives of the officers and soldiers of the expedition. None were allowed to follow their husbands to the scene of operations.

In the description given of the changeableness of weather experienced by the author on his first arrival in China, he has no idea, of course, of asserting that such changes are constantly felt throughout the year. The seasons at which the hot weather begins to break up and the cold to set in, and *vice versâ*, are said to be the unhealthiest periods at Macao, the weather being

generally very settled during the remainder of the year.

Anglo-Indians are sometimes sent there for their health. The cold bracing winter is doubtless the attraction. Moreover in Macao they are still considered within the boundary that entitles them to half their pecuniary allowances.

LETTER X.

Macao, 28th Oct. 1841.

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The Portuguese government has the right to try Chinese as well as Portuguese and Englishmen, and has more power than I had been led to suppose by books alluding to the subject. The Chinese controlling power is a very curious one, if I am to believe what I am told here. When the Mandarins are dissatisfied with any proceedings of the Portuguese government, they issue orders to their people not to work for the Portuguese. This *strike*, it is said, gives the Mandarins the victory on such occasions. But as far as I can learn, collisions of that sort seldom occur nowadays..

The English merchants only rent houses here: but since they have been forced to retire from Canton and to reside in this place, Macao has risen from an almost ruined to a very flourish-

ing condition. The Portuguese as well as Chinese thrive on British wealth and industry; and both will suffer when Macao is abandoned for Hongkong.

The English merchants in China are very hospitable, and keep up the character of merchant princes: the houses they rent here are very large, and elegantly furnished, at least those in which married ladies are found. There are no very fine buildings, architecturally speaking, except the ruins of the ancient San Paulo church; of which, however, the front alone is standing. It was once the finest Christian church in the East.

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Yesterday morning I went with Dr. L—— to see the Casa gardens — one of the lions of this place. It is formed out of what were once the gardens of the Dutch and English factories. It is small, and in the European style. It afforded, however, no shelter from the midday sun, and yesterday, though so late in the year, the thermometer, in the shade, stood at 81°. We were broiled, in spite of a thin silk umbrella. The garden is such a one as almost

every English or German town can boast of. The want of shade is attributed to the devastations of the typhoons, which perform here the same part as hurricanes in the West Indies, to which the leanness of the horses used to be ascribed.

The cave of Camoens — that in which he composed a part of the Lusiad — is naturally a picturesque object, formed by three irregular gigantic stone blocks, such as Homer's deities might have pelted each other with. One of these blocks seems to have fallen on the two others, and thus formed a cool cave with two entrances. The Portuguese, with their devices and plaster and ornaments, have spoiled its sylvan graces. To crown their absurdity, they have clapped a round summer-house on the top!

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Yesterday evening Mr. L—— took us to see Mr. Beale's aviary; and I can assure you even a smatterer in ornithology would have been enraptured. We saw splendid gold and elegant Argus pheasants, and a magnificent bird of Paradise, a bird very seldom seen alive.

I was most delighted with some dear little *Mandarin ducks*, whose wings, backs, breasts, and heads are of different, yet sober quakerlike colours.

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Of the fine arts, painting is enthroned at Macao: our countryman Chinnery is supposed to be the greatest of Eastern painters.

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He almost worships Sir E—— ———; * * * we became good friends. He certainly paints and draws beautifully; but I cannot say whether he takes good likenesses. I read in a certain Indian journal the description of some scenery which was said to be "worthy of the pen of a Byron and the pencil of a Chinnery," a juxta-position of names which rather astonishes an Englishman.

Chinese artists abound. Some — the pupils of Chinnery — are very respectable performers. Lunquah is the first; but he is gone to Canton. They take accurate likenesses, and will make copies of paintings to resemble the originals to

such a degree that none but an artist can tell the difference. They don't know how to flatter yet; but English dollars will one day teach them that profitable art.

A lady at Macao was having her portrait drawn. As the work proceeded, she expressed her strong dissatisfaction at the performance. "Spose," said the painter, "you smile a little: he lookee better." 'Twas vain; for when the "*pigeon*" was done, the indignation of the fair one was so great and so disagreeably expressed, that the irritated artist naïvely exclaimed, "If handsome face no got, how handsome face can make?" English artists could teach him. The word "*pigeon*" is Anglo-Chinese for "business"—a word which the Chinese cannot pronounce. The constant use of the former between the Chinese and English is one of the drollest things which first strikes a stranger.

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It is difficult to know what teas to select. One merchant prefers Souchong, another Pouchong, another Houlong, another Pickwick mixture, &c. &c. The last I have mentioned

is composed of Souchong and Peckho. I have selected the last, because I am told it is the one most generally preferred by the English.

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It received its name of "Pickwick mixture" after a tea-taster in the service of Mr. Jardine, who first composed it. This tea-taster bore the sobriquet of Mr. Dickens's inimitable hero, from a physical and mental resemblance to that corpulent and amiable individual.

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Trade goes on very slowly at Whampoa. The Chinese demand enormous prices for their teas. Some think the taking and *burning* of Canton will improve the trade! What would the advocates of free trade think of such a nostrum in the science of political economy? I feel sure that this is not the general wish of the British merchants: but the open advocacy of such a measure, *for the benefit of trade*, proves what a Shylock-spirit the thirst for gain infuses into some minds.

Shopping in Macao is a laborious operation. Curiosities are easily procured; not so Euro-

pean or Eastern articles of clothing and comfort. The Chinese almost invariably take less than they ask of a foreigner, but always more than is fair. If you are polite, they are insolent; if you are cold and contemptuous, they are civil and obliging.* Those, however, who know Englishmen, will generally behave respectfully, and may be civilly treated.

A man with a disagreeable expression of countenance waited on us with some things, and commenced business with an impudent and supercilious air. But Captain C—— soon brought him down, by treating him with the utmost contempt, and ordering him to decamp. The man instantly became quite humble, especially when he learnt that we were mandarin soldiers, and not to be bullied.

However, this ill-favoured mortal was not the less disposed to cheat us. He asked extravagant prices for every thing. Unfortunately for him, Mr. Alfred Rivers Labtat,

* The reasons of the difference of manners between the Chinese in their own country and the Chinese at Singapore, who live under British rule, are too evident to require being detailed at length.

formerly C——'s servant, was present while we were discussing the *pigeon* (it's a hungry phrase), and exposed the roguery. We bought nothing of him. Before he left the house, however, being alone with the African, the Chinaman said to him, "Why you such foolo?" "How so?" responded the other. "Why, s'pose you no talkee, I sell that pigeon and you get *cumshaw*," which, in Hindoostanee, means a present.† By way of reply, Mr. Alfred Rivers Labtat ‡ took up a stick and cudgelled John Chinaman out of the house.

One of the greatest annoyances in dealing with the Chinese is the coin. Some dollars they object to take, apparently because they have a new appearance, and others because they are too old. The fact is, they are great rogues in Macao; and, as they often try to pass off bad money, they suspect foreigners of a similar intention towards them.

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In walking about Macao, strangers are usually

† He probably took Mr. L—— for an East, instead of a West, Indian.

‡ In such names did the African rejoice.

armed with good sticks, as it is considered imprudent to be out late without some means of self-defence. C—— was once saved from being thrashed and robbed at Macao by the energetic use of his *Penang lawyer,* — an excellent *advocate,* who got him off safe both in limbs and pocket, and asked no fee. A *Penang lawyer* is made of the root of a tree that grows in the pretty island whose name it bears; and it is found of greater use in squabbles than an English lawyer — however much of a stick the latter may also be.

I saw to-day, at the office of the Deputy Superintendant of Trade, the magnificent picture, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, of George IV. in his coronation robes, which was brought here from Canton for safety.

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Its interest in my eyes arose chiefly, however, from the recollection of the insolent conduct of the Fooyen of Canton, who sat with his back to it, after ordering the curtain, which covered it, to be removed.

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NOTES.

In a correspondence with Captain Smith of H. M. S. "Druid," Don A. da Silveira Pinto, the then governor of Macao, in allusion to the Portuguese Government, speaks of "the peliar situation of this establishment, where every thing must perish, if the Chinese were to withdraw our means of subsistence."

In one of the gardens outside Macao, I for the first time heard the epithet "fanqui," foreign devils. It was applied by a woman to C. and myself.

Mandarin ducks are not always of the sombre hue described in the preceding letter. I have since seen them of very gay colours, which shows how necessary it is to guard against first impressions even where ducks are concerned.

Letter XI.

On board the "Sulimany," Hongkong Harbour, 5th Nov. 1841.

* * * * *

I left Macao on the 30th, at noon, in a small bark called the Cowasjee Family; and in spite of strong contrary winds, the next morning, at 10 o'clock, found me once more in my floating prison in this harbour. We are anxiously expecting news from Chusan by H. M. brig "Larne." As yet we have only rumours, which state our loss in taking the island to be trifling, but to include an ensign. I was sorry to leave Macao and a comfortable house; where our old fat little compradore provided for all our wants. Imagine a round flat face, with one squinting and one bleared eye, with a mouth perpetually grinning, joined without a neck to a punchy figure; add a long black twisted tail hanging from a half-shaven crown, — and you have our compradore. When we spoke to

him, it was, necessarily, in such phrases as "Olo man fetchee one piece tailor," &c. When we wanted him we said to one of the Chinese boys, "Fetchee he olo man." He worked very hard for C—— and myself in the way of commissions, and provided good breakfasts. As to dinners, the hospitality of the merchants saved him all trouble in that respect.

There are no carriages in Macao. Ladies, and even gentlemen going to their houses of business, ride in sedan chairs. Horses by no means abound.

* * * * *

Since the British colours first waved on the celestial shores, the position of the English in Macao is wonderfully altered, as our merchants well know. They are no longer afraid of being insulted by the long-tailed race, but walk about as haughtily as on the Continent of Europe, proud of their country, and the respect it inspires; whereas a few years back, if smitten on the one cheek, they were ready to offer the other, and that not from any motive of Christian charity.

The mall in Macao is the Praya Grande—

the great paved walk along the beach. Near this, and at the foot of a grand flight of steps, leading to the church of San Francisco, there is a green spot, where, till of late years, the Portuguese used to dance on summer evenings and moonlight nights. What a pretty sight it must have been! the town, the hills, the sea, and the islands bounding their spacious ball-room, instead of the four small walls and suffocating heat of a London party. Imagine, too, the Chinese looking on in wonder, and who, in that pale light, might pass for monkeys, but for the different locality of their tails' origin.

All this is a tale of times gone by. When the English merchants, expelled from Canton, were obliged to settle at Macao, manners underwent a change. We assuredly carry doubt, dulness, and disgust wherever we go. The Portuguese no longer dance in the open air; but both swains and signoras stroll out on moonlight evenings, and often, I am told, pass whole nights guitaring and singing in the open air on the hills.

For increase of wealth and comfort, however, the Portuguese are much indebted to the in-

fluence of British capital; but the Government is considered by the English merchants as very ungrateful.

When, two years ago, the English were obliged to leave Macao, and betake themselves to the harbour of Hongkong, it was in consequence of private information from the Portuguese Government, that it was unable to protect them from the Chinese. In its public proclamations, however, it announced the intention of supporting the ancient ally of Portugal. Nevertheless, when the English merchants left Macao, the Government claimed credit from the Mandarins for having sent them away. Such are the present representatives of the companions of Vasco de Gama.

The Government of Macao is below all criticism. It is said that some of the senate cannot write their own names, but they *can* thwart the Governor, who is a very respectable officer.

Lucky it is for them that European politics will always prevent our attacking what is called the brightest jewel in the Portuguese crown. I would not give much for the other

jewels if that is true. But should it ever be necessary, a subaltern and sixty men will be all the force required to accomplish the conquest.

Barracks are going to be erected to the south of Hongkong, to contain 200 Europeans as an experiment of the salubrity of the place. These wooden tenements are already made, and only require to be transported. I expect to form part of the first garrison, and should be glad to be on shore.

The island is of a most irregular shape — about eight miles long; in some parts three, in others six miles broad. It is very hilly, with little cultivation.

* * * * *

NOTE.

The word Mandarin is of Portuguese origin, and not Chinese, as so many persons even of the Expedition fancied. From our frequent use of the word, I am convinced that the Chinese at Ningpo and other places to the north fancied the word to be English for

officer. They generally called the English officers *Mandarins*, when trying to describe or when addressing them.

The healthiness of Hongkong as a location for troops has long been a matter of doubt and dispute. One thing is, I believe, quite certain, that neither European nor Hindoo native soldiers will ever enjoy good health there in wooden houses.

The account given in the preceding letter of the size and shape of Hongkong is probably very inaccurate. At that period the island had never been otherwise than nautically surveyed.

Letter XII.

Hongkong Harbour, 26th Nov. 1841.

* * * * *

H. M. brig "Pelican" arrived here the night before last, and is to sail for the north to-morrow at day-break. I am ordered a passage in her. She touches at Amoy, which I am very glad of, as I like seeing as much as I can of China. We shall be upwards of a month before reaching Chusan, and nothing but a vessel of war is at all sure of making that island at this season of the year — beating up against the monsoon.

Yesterday morning at day-break, not being aware of the Pelican's arrival on the previous night, I accompanied a party to the south side of Hongkong. The object was a magisterial visit to Chuckchuen at Tytam Bay, on the part of Captain ——. We were seven gentlemen, officers and merchants. We had a

number of Indian servants, an escort of twelve native infantry soldiers, and two of the 26th as policemen.

We walked, by the time we returned home, from twelve to fifteen miles, up and down steep hills, and occasionally on rugged, sharp, slippery, stony paths.

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The south side of Hongkong is far more picturesque and less bleak than the north. The villages we saw, unlike the mat huts in the harbour, are exceedingly neat in appearance, with blue-tiled, white-walled houses. These are (at least in Chuckchuen) joined together like a little town.

But on a nearer approach the senses of sight and smell are any thing but flattered. Salt fish, evidently very stale, predominates. One is reminded of Byron's contrast between being in Lisbon and seeing it in the distance — and still more of Coleridge's lines on Cologne. I arrived at Chuckchuen about ten minutes before our party, and had a levee of Chinese. Some smiled, others scowled and looked sulky. In

all, great curiosity, was visible. Mothers brought out their children to look at me. I was a regular lion; and, being without my coat or waistcoat, and terribly burnt and heated, I dare say I looked very barbarian-like indeed.

The Island of Hongkong is, apparently, one mass of rock hills, with long but very narrow valleys, widening towards the sea. These patches are mostly under cultivation, chiefly paddy fields and some vegetables. The wind on the tops of the hills towards the south blew very cold, and had a very bracing effect upon me. The south side of the island will be the healthiest and pleasantest location, though, on account of the good harbour, business will be transacted in the north.

* * * * *

On my return from our arduous walk, I found that the "Pelican" had arrived the night before. I feared I was too late for her, but I am glad to find she will not start till to-morrow.

NOTE.

Instead of one month, as anticipated in the preceding letter, the "Pelican" was nearer two in reaching her destination. The voyage was in the strongest and most violent period of the N. E. monsoon.

LETTER XIII.

Kolongsu Island, opposite Town of Amoy,
9th December, 1841.

THE "Pelican" anchored here yesterday afternoon on the 12th day from leaving Hongkong. Considering the heavy monsoon we encountered, this is by no means slow work, and we have left behind us the two transports which started a few days before us. So much for the advantages of a man-of-war; now for the disadvantages. In consequence of Col. —— of the —— being also a passenger (as was also a captain of the same corps) I lost what I otherwise should have had — half the captain's cabin, as he himself told me. The rest of the cabins, (if they indeed deserve the name) are filled with the officers of the ship. My cot was therefore swung amongst the middies, but even there space was wanting to secure the most moderate share of comfort. One day or rather night will give a sample of

the whole of my voyage, which has certainly been the *ne plus ultra* of discomfort. My cot was slung so close to the bulkhead, that at every movement of the ship I bumped against it. On the other side the hammock of a middy or mate bumped against me. Lastly, over my head, the extremity of the blanket of another hammock (swinging astern of me, but rather higher) was continually falling over my face, and at times half-blinding me. To remedy this, I was more than once compelled to put up my hands and tuck up my neighbour's bed. Nor was this all. Under my cot was placed a gigantic middy's chest, or rather the gigantic chest of a middy — sole repository of his huddled goods and chattels. On the corner of this chest my cot occasionally lighted, and even through my mattrass I felt the corner of the box. Had I remained there well and good; but the roll immediately following, instantly removed me with a jerk, which threatened to pitch me on my neighbour. This soon became beyond endurance; so I crawled out with my bedclothes huddled about me, and made the best of my way to the gunroom.

The 1st lieutenant in vain has tried to make

me more comfortable. There is no space in the little sixteen-gun brig; and space is a thing difficult to create.† I sleep oftener in the gun-room than in my hammock.

* * * * *

A detachment of the 26th is here, as also one of the 18th Royal Irish. The troops are not in Amoy, but in the small island of Kolungsu immediately opposite. Amoy is less than a mile off, and appears to be a very neat well-built town. The houses occupied as officers' barracks belonged, I am told, to Mandarins. They are one story high and very comfortable, since the officers have built fire-places in some of the apartments. The numerous tiny court-yards are paved with large flag-stones, and many are ornamented with flowers, tanks with gold fish, &c. Some of the doorways are double-folded. Some of the entrances to the passages are formed in the shape of a coffin with the small end downwards, others are circular, and others again are of fantastic shapes.

† In illustration of the crowded state of the steerage, I one night overheard a mate angrily desire a middy to "keep his foot off the other's face, *or he would bite it!*"

* * * * *

* * * * *

They have excellent markets here — poultry and vegetables abound.

* * * * *

The military force here, in round numbers, including officers, consists of 150 of the 26th Cameronians, 380 of the 18th Royal Irish, 2 brass field guns and 2 mortars, with 30 artillery men, and sappers and miners — total 560 men, under the command of Major Johnstone of the Cameronians.

With the exception of ague in a mild form, which is very general among the soldiers, no complaints are made of the climate, and there is very little serious disease.* The naval force here consists of three vessels of war, exclusive of the "Pelican" and two transports for the troops. The war vessels are all small except the "Druid" frigate; and it is generally considered that small vessels are the most serviceable on this expedition.

* When the hot weather set in the following year, the troops at Amoy became sickly.

* * * * *

* * * * *

The officers at Amoy have got small ponies something like, but not I think so strong as those of Atcheen. Yesterday before we arrived they had races, chiefly for the purpose of amusing the men; and by all accounts they seemed to have been very successful in their object. The Chinese, however, took no interest therein.

On board the "Pelican."

I had not been four hours on shore, when our captain made his appearance, with Colonel ——, to tell us we were to go on board, as by order of the senior naval officer he was to sail immediately. We had delayed at Amoy to take in water; but it fortunately happened that a supply in Chinese boats was immediately available, and thus four hours sufficed to take it on board instead of the twenty-four we had expected to be detained.

* * * * *

The harbour of Amoy is very good. The fortifications though numerous, and the batteries though powerful, are useless from the

absence of cross-fires and flank defences. The positions can be turned with little danger from artillery. The Chinese complain that we do not attack them fairly in front, so at least the story goes, though I think it is too good to be true.

* * * * *

We are out at sea, and the ship is beginning to roll; so I shall now finish, merely deprecating any criticism on my description of such a flying visit as this to Amoy, or rather Kolongsu.

* * * * *

NOTE.

The Author in this letter forgot to mention the enormous fleet of large trading junks at anchor before the town of Amoy, which had a very picturesque as well as novel appearance. The square bows and the lofty sterns of these vessels are doubtless, from the frequent representations of them, familiar to most readers. All Chinese vessels are furnished with eyes at the bows, that *they may see their way.*

LETTER XIV.

Ningpo, 19th Jan. 1842.

* * * * *

We started from Amoy on the 9th December, as I told you in my last. But we were obliged by the weather to return to the offing on the 10th, and were off again on the 11th. The afternoon of the 12th found us again at anchor in Chimmoo Bay, or 12 miles, I believe, to the north of Amoy. The monsoon blew very hard, as indeed it did with only a few intermissions the greater part of our voyage. Our plan was to keep along the coast, and anchor if possible when the tide was against us. Still we often made leeway in the night. One or two days we tacked over to Formosa * and back; but we did not find the wind less strong, and did find the sea much higher. There were a great many trading junks, and a few English vessels at Chimmoo Bay. While at anchor

* *Vide*, in the Map, the large Island of Formosa.

there, some Chinese came on board with bags of dollars *to buy opium!* They had been hoaxed by one of the merchant brigs in the bay, who had told them we had lots of *balls*. So we had, but of *iron* not *opium*. A good deal of opium trading is carried on at Chimmoo; but a mate of a merchant ship informed us that, for the last five years, European traders have not landed at Chimmoo, in consequence of an affray, in which some Chinese were killed.

We sailed again on the 17th, anchored again at Tsongboo on the 19th, off again on the following day. On the 21st we anchored among the Lamyet Islands, and remained there till the morning of the 31st, as it blew very hard the whole time. The weather was too hazy for an accurate observation. Not knowing the real name of the place where we were, Captain —— christened it Christmas Bay, in honour of Christmas Day, which we passed there — no merry Christmas I assure you. Provisions were getting so short that the ship's company was placed on reduced allowance, and our private stock in the gunroom was rapidly

getting (not beautifully) less. Certain hints were dropped of a probable return to Amoy; but we were not reduced to that sad measure. It was not thought advisable to go on shore at Christmas Bay, so that I recollect no important incident there, except that *Jacko*, the Captain's monkey, fell overboard, was carried very fast to leeward, but contended with the water till the jolly-boat picked him up. The evening of the 3d January found us at anchor at White Dog Island lat. 25° 57′. There the Captain went on shore and brought off four bullocks, paying the Chinese what they asked, though afterwards they wanted more. All of us, from the captain to the cabin-boy, rejoiced on this fresh beef for three days; and, but for our hurry to be off again, we might have obtained an abundance of poultry.

The night after leaving this place, the purser was accidentally on deck, and said * * * * * * "Is not that land a-head?" It was close to us by all accounts, and a five minutes' later discovery would have been too late for the ship and most of her company.

The man at the foretop was punished for his neglect.

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It was about this time that we made for two days the experiment, previously alluded to, of tacking over to Formosa.

On the 6th of January we anchored about 27° lat.

On the 8th we anchored, lat. 27° 33′.

The nights of the 9th and 10th found us successively at anchor.

On the 13th, at night, we anchored near the cluster of islands to the south of, and about thirty miles from, Chusan. The weather had already become very cold. Of the eight persons, none very young, who formed the gun-room mess, four of us had chilblains. Since I left school I have had none so bad.

On the 14th we anchored among the Chusan Islands; and on the 15th finally among the men-of-war at Chusan.

On the 16th the Admiral arrived here from Ningpo in the steamer "Nemesis," and hoisted his flag in the "Wellesley," one of the three line-of-

battle ships (two-deckers) at present at Chusan. There I waited on him, and obtained an order for a passage in the "Nemesis," which proceeded to Chimhac on the 17th in three hours. On the 18th, yesterday, I came up the Ningpo river in a Chinese boat in two hours and a half with the tide — distance about fourteen miles; thus having seen all our stations in China before joining here.

I landed twice at Chusan. The first time, the first thing observed was a human skull — a bad omen if one was superstitious, which thank God I am not. The batteries defending the entrance of the harbour and the landing at Chusan would be strong if attacked in front; but as they can easily be taken in flank, they are nearly useless.

* * * * *

Tinghai, the capital of Chusan, is a very flourishing town. The shops are all open, and the inhabitants appear cheerful and happy under British protection. It has a most abundant market — pigs, poultry, vegetables, and, above all, fish. The streets are well paved with flags, and the city is inclosed by a wall and gates, as

is the case, I believe, with all Chinese towns. There is a fine joss-house or temple in the city, adorned with a great number of gods and goddesses. One goddess, of huge proportions, has a small puppet in its arms.* Indeed this group of half-painting and half-sculpture reminded me of the *Madonna di San Sisto* at Dresden; not, however, from the beauty of its execution. The whole building had a Roman Catholic appearance. The gods and goddesses were much carved, and were inlaid as if all the colours of the rainbow had been taxed, and some more. The best statues were simply carved (out of wood I suppose) and richly gilt. Some of these were really well done. We supposed they represented the sages of China. They had Chinese countenances, and many of them appeared to be expounding like orators. Of the gods, I can call to mind two monsters sitting; one with a lyre, and one with a huge drawn sword in his hand. Our friend of the lyre was any thing but an Apollo in appearance; and though he smiled, it was in such sort as to dis-

* On the Author's second visit to Chusan, the puppet or infant had disappeared.

gust rather than to please. The swordsman had huge round eyes, and looked very savage indeed.

In one of the court-yards in front of the temple, we ascended to look at a large bell. There are many larger in England; but this was very handsomely carved in the Chinese fashion.

We also saw at the joss-house a school of literati (apparently) sitting at a long table. Most of them were middle-aged men. They had a president, who beat time with a stick on a scarlet thing not very unlike the top of a huge skull, while the rest followed him in a monotonous sing-song perusal of some work, all having small pamphlets in their hands.* They did not take much notice of my fellow-passengers and myself.

Though part of the 55th were quartered for nearly six weeks in this temple, we could not observe that any damage had been done even to the gilded sages above noticed; a fact greatly to the credit of British discipline.

* I was subsequently informed this was a religious, not literary, class.

The garrison of Chusan at present consists of about 400 men, with five vessels of war and several transports. The thermometer had fallen there as low as 20°. Here at Ningpo it has been down to 16°, and once even to 11°, I am told.

* * * * *

Of Chinhae, at the mouth of the Ningpo river, I did not see much, for, half an hour after I arrived there, I set off with others in Chinese boats for Ningpo. We had not gone a mile when we discovered, thanks to Mr. Medhurst the interpreter, that the boatmen feared the tide would not serve long enough to take us to Ningpo. As it was getting late, it was thought best to return to Chinhae. * * * I had no time to see the place, but passed a very pleasant evening with the 55th, whose head-quarters are stationed there.

The next morning (yesterday) five long Chinese boats started together; two containing artillery invalids, and the rest, four military and two naval officers. We sailed up the river to Ningpo with the tide, distance about thirteen

miles. We were two hours and a half coming.† * * * The river winds a good deal in long bends. The banks are very flat, but fine mountains rise in many directions around. The tops of some were covered with snow. It was a very fine day.

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† We raced each other the whole way, tacking either in the centre of the stream, or towards the banks, according as each directing officer imagined the strength of the tide to lie.

NOTE.

In describing his first process up the Ningpo river, the author forgot to mention the ice houses which lined one bank of the river all the way. They are built under ground; but the thatched roofs are above, and have a picturesque appearance. Chusan also had its ice-houses.

LETTER XV.

Ningpo, 28th Jan. 1842.

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The general opinion seems to be, however, that no treaty of a nature to be depended on will ever secure half our demands till these are enforced by an army at the gates of Peking. With 8000 men, Sir Hugh would soon accomplish this. The fleet and boats would bring us within a week's march of the capital of China. The country is too thickly peopled, and we should come too suddenly on the natives, to permit the enemy to adopt the system of laying waste the lands; while the towns and villages, as far as present experience and analogy teaches, are so numerous, that good quarters for troops can never be wanting. The carriage of baggage, owing to the want of good roads and carts, would, it is expected, be the greatest difficulty; but, with Peking so near, that would scarcely

be an insurmountable obstacle. The Emperor and his ministers will not, it is generally supposed, be brought to reason, so long as we confine our attacks to the outskirts of this great empire. The Viceroy of this province in a letter to His Celestial Majesty speaks of us as afraid of quitting the protection of our ships' guns, and as quite unfit for inland operations. The Chinese should no longer be allowed to lay this flattering unction to their souls.

The monsoons here are sad causes of delay in military operations, and in keeping up communications and supplies. The vessels of war and the transports being ordered for the most part to touch at Amoy on their way up here, pass inside instead of outside of Formosa, meet the concentrated force of the N. E. monsoon, that blows down the Formosa channel as through a funnel, eight or nine months of every year, and have besides but little room to beat against it. The consequence is, that the length of the voyage up is more than doubled.

The ——'s project of destroying Ningpo, was objected to by the General and Admiral. The natural supposition is, that by burning

Ningpo we should have made inveterate foes of 300,000,000 of people, who would snatch a resolution from despair. Besides, we profess to be at war only with the Emperor and his ministers; why then wreak our vengeance on the defenceless inhabitants of a conquered town? ——, however (whom I have not yet seen, and who is gone to Macao), is a most popular character with the army and navy—his *penchant* for energetic measures, even of somewhat an indiscriminate nature, finding much greater favour than the vacillations of his predecessor. The reports here confirm what I heard in the south, regarding the talents and accomplishments of Captain E——. He is said to be "an excellent seaman," "a clever fellow," "an amusing companion," "an intrepid man," every thing *except* a diplomatist.

This is an expedition in which personal activity is as necessary as mental qualifications; for in this war the General and his staff are on foot. True, there are a few ponies here, and at Chusan; but they cannot well be embarked when we move, nor be procured at any new place on the coast, until success will have ren-

dered them useless in a military point of view. An officer having a moderate regard for his neck, will seldom be found riding in these narrow slippery streets, at least out of a walk; and from what I saw in my only trip into the country, riding is still more useless there, except, perhaps, as a relief on a march. The roads I have seen consist of a narrow paved bank with paddy fields on each side, and are so far safer than the streets, that if you fall it will only be into very watery mud. The troops are very comfortably quartered, the markets well supplied with fish, poultry, pigs, fine pheasants, *venison*, cabbages, carrots, onions, kids, goats, and beef, &c. I have mentioned kids, goats, and beef last, because the beef is lean and tasteless, and for kids and goats I entertain an antipathy, in their *edible* capacity. The Chinese bread is very good, particularly when toasted."

Every morning before breakfast the General takes a walk through the market; and every afternoon he walks all round the ramparts of the city wall, the paving of which time has rendered so uneven, that I find it necessary to look to

every step I take. This circle is nearly five miles. The town is in shape more like a lady's fan than any thing I can think of. It is nearly surrounded by water, and has six gates. But I have filled the half-sheet I prescribed for myself.

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NOTE.

The officers were in the habit of going to market, and buying for themselves. On one occasion, the general being present, a Chinese held out a small basket to tempt us, whose contents were two small fat white woolly puppies. We laughed, and he heartily joined, being already, I believe, fully aware of our *prejudices*, and having only made the offer in joke. The *bonne-bouche* was doubtless picked up by some native.

LETTER XVI.

Ningpo, 30th Jan. 1842.

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* * * * *

The 26th have not yet arrived, but are hourly expected. We anxiously hope that the new ministry will have sent out ample reinforcements of troops without delay, in order to bring this war to a speedy and honourable termination.

* * * * *

I dare say you would like to have a description of Ningpo. The town is nearly five miles round, defended by a high wall, with a rampart, parapet, and banquette. In shape, Capt. —— likens it to a fan, and I think that is as good a simile as can be found. It has six arched gates, all protected by guard-houses. What with rivers and canals (which last traverse parts of the town) Ningpo is surrounded by water within thirty feet of its walls, except a small part, where a portion of the suburbs

lies on the inner side of one of the rivers. The ramparts are high, and upon them generally three carriages might, I think, go abreast; but the greater part of the ramparts are apparently wider than when first constructed, from the gradual effect of time. The whole mass is propped by huge square buttresses, placed in the interior sides at considerable intervals. There are also occasional square projections or towers, meant, doubtless, to represent bastions, and to afford flank defences; but they are few in number, and not well constructed.

The solid portion of the ramparts is doubtless of earth, and is rendered compact by large stones. In short, Ningpo does not appear to differ materially from the old feudal towns of Europe. But the Chinese guns are superior to those of our feudal times. Many of them, indeed, are very good; but these are supposed to be of very recent construction. The view from the ramparts towards the interior presents generally, beyond the rivers, the endless paddy fields of China, dotted here and there with villages; while a picturesque range of lofty hills bounds the prospect. A small portion of the town itself near the

ramparts is laid out in paddy fields, at present under water. There has been little or no frost, but a good deal of rain, since I arrived. The longest street, running from the east to the west gate, is, I believe, considerably above a mile in length; but its breadth is such that, generally speaking, only three persons can walk comfortably abreast in it. The houses of the best streets are generally two stories high. The head-quarters' house is a large private building in the shape of two squares, of two stories high, and with two paved court-yards. My apartments are on the ground floor of the inner court. My bed-room, which is also my sitting-room, is very comfortably furnished with tables and chairs, not very different from those of Europe. The bed itself is in a recess of what may be best described as a room within a room. I have also a fine row of presses of red-painted and varnished wood, curiously locked with a bolt in the centre of a bright circular metal plate a foot and a half in diameter. The rim of this plate is inlaid after the fashion in which the Chinese excel. The light of day struggles into my room through thin white oiled paper, which has (as it requires)

a great deal of thin frame work to support it. The apartments must always be gloomy in the winter months. Chimneys are things unknown to the Chinese apparently. They will have to thank us for the introduction of such earthly comforts into their celestial empire. Iron pans of charcoal are what they use: one of these is generally burning in my apartment. They have a tendency to give headache, and to stupify; but perhaps, medically speaking, they purify the air, and counteract the effects of the surrounding wet paddy fields. Many of the officers' private rooms, and all the messes, have fireplaces now. There is a very comfortable one in the general's dining-room, which it is no joke to sit before during dinner. I have been several times to the suburbs across the river leading to Yu-yaou. No shops were shut up there, as on this side the river, and trade appeared far more active. I went one day with Captain —— and Lieutenant ——, all of us armed; a necessary precaution. I remarked considerable reluctance to deal with us. Probably the people are awed by emissaries from the Mandarins, who cannot easily enter the town itself, at least in great

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numbers. I went to buy stuff to make up a warm jacket * * * * *. I purchased two yards of blue Russian broadcloth at three dollars a yard, and a sheepskin for four dollars; which has been made into a comfortable and handsome jacket by a Chinese tailor, after the model lent me by Captain ———. Like the natives of India, the Chinese are very accurate copyists.

While in one of the shops in the suburbs one of the crowd that followed us threw some orange peel, which struck my cap: but when we turned round the offender had vanished. Another day I was insulted again in a lonely passage of the outskirts of the town itself. I avenged myself by a few blows with the flat of my sword; but I did no execution, owing to a reason I have since met with in "Davis's China;" viz. "In summer the nether garment is loose, and not unlike ancient Dutch breeches; but in winter an indescribable pair of tight leggings are drawn on separately over all, and fastened up to the sides of the person, leaving the voluminous article of dress above mentioned to hang out behind in a manner that is any thing but pleasant." In the instance I have mentioned, if

not ornamental, this phenomenon was highly useful to my flying foe. I might as well have beaten a pillow. I have always carried a good stick since then, being determined to break the noddle of the next Chinaman who shall trespass on my dignity. They are a most insolent race. Still it is no doubt galling to have foreign Barbarians strutting as lords, where a short time ago their only quarters were *cages*.

Mr. Gutzlaff is at present attached to the personal staff of the General as interpreter; but is, in fact (under Sir Hugh), magistrate, head of the police, &c. He is very clever, and a pleasant companion. He is truly an example that knowledge is power. No other Englishman in Ningpo knows Chinese. The want of interpreters is very much felt. The scattered state of the force limits one to each station of the north, and gives them great authority; and they are men quite unused to command. For aught we can tell, many of their proceedings may be highly impolitic as regards the speedy success of the expedition.

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The Chinese having refused or neglected to

pay the tax of one million of dollars set on Ningpo, the prize agents have commenced seizing the stores of pice in the suburbs, under protection of an armed party. The labour of carrying away such treasure may be guessed, when you think that one dollar is equal to 1000 pice. They are packed in strings,. which pass through the centre of the coin. Twenty-five dollars' worth forms a load for two Chinamen. The operation of lading the junks commenced a few days ago, and will, it is expected, take a month to complete. Hopes are still entertained that the Chinese merchants will come forward and redeem their pice with the demanded silver. If they do not, the tax will of course be increased to compensate the trouble of carrying it away in copper. I went with Captain G——, the other day, to see the pice stores. An officer just returned told us there was a very great crowd, and that he was very glad to get away. Another officer hoped we should return safe. I did not more than half like it. At breakfast I had heard the translation by Mr. Gutzlaff of a letter to the Emperor, from Yih-King, governor-general of

this province. This gentleman promises to send the Emperor the heads of Pottinger, Gough, and Parker, and professes his intention of eating their bodies while still alive, and afterwards sleeping in their skins. I hope this is a figurative mode of expression; but it struck me that if Captain G—— and myself fell into Yih-King's hands, he might sleep in our skins — *en attendant* our superiors'. However, when we crossed the river, we found the street and passages leading to the stores cleared of Chinese by means of a very few sentries placed one at each corner of the streets. Behind these sentries, the mob looked on very peaceably and timidly. At the store itself was a captain's guard, the grenadier company of the 18th Royal Irish.

The prize agents were superintending the removal of the coin, which we saw placed in very even regular piles. The bags of pice were carried by Chinamen and Hindoos down to the river's side, and deposited in two junks placed alongside of a temporary pier of planks, on which walked a single British sentinel. The Hindoo and Mussulman followers of our

army being far weaker than the Chinese, were chiefly employed in keeping the latter up to their work. One of them I saw *lathering* a Chinese porter as if he were a donkey; and, donkey-like, he appeared in patience and indifference: thanks partly to the lot of jackets he had on, one over the other, according to the winter fashion of China. Several of the porters had been flogged for secreting some of the coin about their persons, which they contrived to do in spite of the vigilance with which they were watched, and the great weight and small value of the article purloined.

There are several fine josses or temples here of Buddh and Confucius, though not perhaps so curious as the one I saw at Chusan. In the town, near the east gate, are the ruins of the prison in which Captain Anstruther and Mrs. Noble were encaged. Nothing remains but parts of the walls. It appears to have been a huge building, with a court yard in the centre. The greater part of the house has been converted into fire-wood. It was not fitting that such a monument of our disgrace should continue to exist.

The troops here are chiefly quartered in josses (temples), not far from the house of the general and head-quarters staff. The inhabitants of Ningpo are said to amount to 300,000. I suppose, of course, that the suburbs are included; yet I cannot believe the amount to be so great. After Macao, and even in comparison of Tinghae, the capital of Chusan, the shops of Ningpo appear to me poor, and comparatively empty. The approaching festival of the Chinese new year (which Mr. Gutzlaff tells me commences in ten days' time) may partly account for this; but it is evident there is more Mandarin influence at work here than at Chusan.

On the 27th instant, in consequence of intelligence received by Mr. Gutzlaff from his native police, Major Fawcett, and a party of forty men of the 55th, were ordered out to take some robbers three miles the other side of the suburbs. I obtained leave to accompany this party, which included a subaltern of the 55th and an assistant surgeon. We left the town by the east gate; and the Major and I had much trouble to get our ponies over the

river, and were finally obliged to tow them over, — they swimming. This, and recrossing the river on our return, formed the really arduous part of our duty. When we had passed the suburbs, we followed the side of a canal some two or three miles on a narrow paved bank, and over occasional small stone bridges, some of them with flights of steps, and all with two or three steps at least, up and down which the ponies walked as quietly as you or I would. Paddy fields lined each side of the canal. Neatly tiled villages, with roofs of a picturesque blueish grey, were to be seen in all directions; and fine bold mountains bounded the distant prospect. The police led us at last a quarter of a mile away from the canal to a small village, and pointed out the offending houses. Mr. G. had furnished the commanding officer with a few written energetic sentences, to point out his orders to the head of the police; but we sadly wanted an interpreter with us. From several things I remarked, I opine these police to be very great rogues. We found nothing of any value. We brought away three prisoners, after taking precautions to

surround the house, as if the place had been full of robbers. They should be called thieves, for robbers is too grand a name for such unarmed wretches. However, the bulk of the rogues had doubtless escaped, leaving only the old and the slow; and the military force was necessarily less on account of the robbers than of the people generally, who cannot approve of the justice of the Barbarians, whom they probably as yet regard as a higher class of thieves.

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LETTER XVII.

Ningpo, 12th Feb. 1842.

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Since I wrote last the 26th have arrived, and the force is ready to commence operations as soon as the weather becomes mild and settled — probably a month hence. Through the medium of ——— we receive nothing but warlike rumours of the grand intentions of the enemy, and occasional offers to join us on the part of some of the people.

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A few days ago, a self-styled messenger from the Imperial Commissioner came and gave himself up. He said he was sent to know our terms; on reporting which to the commissioner, a high Mandarin with full powers to treat would be sent.

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G. persists in saying the Emperor will never make peace. The messenger was detained here till the arrival of the Admiral from Chusan, and then dismissed with the information (which they had had long before), that we should treat with no one who had not full powers direct from the Emperor. The messenger was a low Mandarin, familiarly styled "Captain White;" which sobriquet he received when sent at a former period of the expedition. Gutzlaff, who is very accurate in military titles, will have him to be only a corporal, — construing it as an additional insult in Yih-King to send a corporal to treat of peace between two great nations. The probability is, that, judging us by themselves, no Mandarins of rank would trust themselves in our hands; and so they sent the corporal, who knew our character well, as a feeler.

A few days ago, I volunteered on a second expedition to a house where some soldiers were said to be concealed in disguise. The military party consisted of a subaltern and twelve soldiers. Gutzlaff's police accompanied us. The house was in the outskirts of the suburb,

beyond the west gate, and close to a canal. I saw nothing in it of a military character, unless some huge jars of rice in the process of becoming *shamshu* deserve the name — a liquor to which *our* soldiers at least are sadly partial. We took four prisoners. The police then commenced plundering. One fellow was soon clothed in the spoils of the Chinese heroes. We pointed out this rascal to the head of the police, who, with his myrmidons, had been no better employed. He assumed a virtue, if he had it not — made the licensed thief disgorge, and deprived him of his wooden police badge of office. Finding no arms, papers, nor any thing suspicious, we returned the property seized by the police to the weeping woman of the house, and marched away with our prisoners, who were tied together *by their tails.* When any one of them neglected to keep up, his head was propelled forward in a ludicrous manner. Whether these men were really soldiers or not, neither Mr. Gutzlaff nor myself could ever find out. A mob of Chinese, chiefly young men and boys, followed us out and back to the city on our heroic enterprise. I have volunteered no

more, though another party was, a few days later, sent out, and returned with equally unsatisfactory results. One thing is certain, the police are a sad set of rogues.

I accompanied —— —— to Chinhae the other day, going and returning with the tide. From the top of the Artillery Hill we could plainly see the pagoda of Ningpo (a distance of nine or ten miles as the crow flies). I found this, by my compass, to bear W. S.W. of Chinhae. There is, by the by, a very fine view from the top of the Ningpo pagoda.

This country would be very favourable to a small army that wished to confine its operations to the *defensive;* but is very unfavourable for offensive measures. Manœuvring and strategy would be almost as impossible as the pursuit of an enemy when vanquished, so numerous and intricate are the canals and rivers. On the plains of Pekin, I should think, this would be otherwise. An army might there be surrounded and destroyed.

The day before yesterday was the Chinese new year's day. All the shops were shut up for several days preceding, and the streets

nearly empty. A few of them are beginning to re-open.

The greatest ornaments of Ningpo are the numerous stone arches (or rather porches, as there is no arch) ornamented with figures of men, animals, flowers, &c., in *alto relievo*, as neatly cut as if on wood. Specimens of these should, if possible, be carried to England. If the artists could only *draw* as well as the Greeks and Romans, these carvings would be the wonder of the world. But there is less of genius than of indefatigable labour observable in every thing that is Chinese. They appear to be a patient, laborious, good-natured people, without genius or originality, ambitious to equal, but without the wish to surpass, their ancestors.

I dare say you will have been surprised at my silence regarding the women of China. I have not seen twenty since I arrived at Ningpo, and all those of the lowest class, and mostly *very* old or *very* young. Yet all have small feet, unlike Macao, where the lower orders, generally, have not been inoculated with this miserable fashion.

I bought, the other day, the best specimen of

indigenous drawing I have seen in Ningpo, no ninth wonder, I assure you. It represents a young lady apparently stretching herself, as if sleepy, though she is not in a recumbent posture. The shopman asked three dollars for it; I offered him one in a tone of indifference, and turned to something else. He then asked two. Just before quitting the shop, I again offered one. He then came down to "one dollar one rupee," a favourite sum of theirs, to show, I suppose, their extensive knowledge of the English language. I left the shop, but had not gone half a dozen yards, when half a dozen voices shouted, "Leilo! one dollar;" so I did *return*, and carried off the drawing. In traffic the people of Ningpo are not unlike their countrymen at Macao -- *Arcades ambo!*

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The Chinese, who behave so cowardly in a body, individually expose their lives for trifles. Many have been shot while getting over the walls with most trifling articles — several for attempting to rob the pice stores, though each

man could carry away but a small portion as to value.

160,000 dollars worth of pice has been carried off by us, being the whole of the store mentioned in my former letter. We shall be obliged to carry off other stores, the ransom money coming in but slowly, and in driblets, in spite of the exertions of Mr. Gutzlaff, at whose suggestion the ransom was fixed upon instead of the seizure of one tenth of fiscal property.

NOTE.

The ransom was never paid. What little was obtained was a cession to arguments, the strength of which lay neither in logic nor reason.

LETTER XVIII.

Ningpo, 24th Feb. 1842.

"*Arma virumque cano*," which means, I hear nothing but wars and rumours of wars. The Chinese, emboldened by our forced stay in winter quarters of four months, appear to be at last really marching upon us in great force. My next letter * * * will contain, I hope, the news of a great victory, and I will not send this till after it has taken place, unless our expectations are baulked, and the valiant preparations of the Chinese end figuratively and not literally in smoke. The General does not wish to make any permanent advance for a month, in order not to expose too much the health of his young troops, and also to await the arrival of the troops from Amoy.

Besides that "corporal White," mentioned in my last letter, we have (since) had another messenger, a Canton linguist, who spoke very tolerable English, after the Canton fashion.

This man only remained one night. I had several conversations with him. He said, "Chinese soldier no can fight—small Mandarin no wish to fight—Chinese soldier no wish to fight—great Mándarin make him—Emperor make great Mandarin fight.—'Spose English drive out Emperor, then have English Emperor." All these were answers to my questions. "No English Emperor," said I. "If we drive away Tartar Emperor, we will give you a Chinese Emperor." He replied, "All good 'spose can have China Emperor. *I hear many say that.*"

"You come," I continued, "talkee, talkee, to make English sleepy, sleepy." He laughed, and said he was a nobody merely sent to see if we would offer terms. He also said, "I hear China soldier talkee, talkee, and I laugh," putting his hand before his mouth to show he had laughed in his sleeve, and not openly, at the boastings of his compatriots.

I. "Englishman no want hurt Chinaman except Chinaman attack Englishman."

He. "I know, s'pose Chinaman wounded—hurt, English doctor he cure him. China soldier cut wounded man throat, that very bad."

He pretended to know nothing of his predecessor, *the corporal,* whom he greatly surpassed in manners and modesty.

I. "How can commissioner send *one* piece man, and then send *two* piece man; and *two* piece man not know *one* piece man?" He gave no satisfactory answer to my question, which by the by is a good specimen of the Canton English. He said if we were willing to treat, a commissioner would be sent to us. He was dismissed with a similar answer to that given to "the corporal."

On the 18th instant the General and Admiral, with their staff and one hundred and twenty soldiers, went to see an inland lake about eleven miles from Ningpo. The soldiers were carried all the way by canals, in boats towed by men; though they nearly all marched back from choice. The General walked the greater part of the way there and back; and the gallant Admiral was second only to the General in his pedestrian exertions on that day. The lake is well worth seeing, though having seen and *not forgotten* Loch Katrine, I was less enraptured than many others. It is in part artificially made by a

bund, which separates it from the canal that leads to it. It is also disfigured by a causeway dividing its breadth in the middle; for what is useful is seldom ornamental in romantic scenery. From the top of the hill, close to the bund, we had a very fine view indeed. The lake below us, surrounded by hills and mountains, appeared some four or five miles in length. The lofty pagoda of Ningpo, the landmark of the country, lay nearly W. N. W. of us. Chusan, with the sea between, was also visible to the eastward.

Below us the scarlet-coated soldiery lined, for the first time, the bund of those peaceful waters, gazed on and admired by a good-natured *looking* peasantry. I fear their good nature, at least towards us, is only in their *looks;* and only *there* when we are strong. But the most curious sight, from the top of the hill, was the immense tract of perfectly flat country, intersected by rivers and countless canals, and bounded only by distant mountains. Blue-tiled villages dotted the whole expanse so thickly, that it appeared almost as if you might go on, all the way, throwing a stone from one village to another. No solitary houses were visible. They were

nestled together as in fear; and with reason, for robbers in China are "as plenty as blackberries" in England. The main pathways along the canals were flagged with large stones, and each paddy field separated from its neighbour by a ridge of earth. All were very damp, it being the season of irrigation. This may possibly account for the low state of the canals, which we had observed for some days past at Ningpo. The hill that we climbed, and at the foot of which the Admiral, General, &c. lunched, we called "Gough Peak," the General having been the first to deposit a stone on its top. While we were at tiffin, we were surrounded by a good-natured, but very hungry rabble: amongst whom the General distributed the *débris* of the provisions.

On the 19th, I accompanied ——— and others to Chinhae to the inspection of the 55th. On our arrival we heard of the barbarous murder, on the previous night, of the second mate of the Ernaad transport, which you will doubtless read of in the English newspapers. Gutzlaff has had information that his head was carried to Yih-King.

By this time the village, near which the murder took place, is a heap of ashes.* A village in Chusan has also we hear been burnt *, in consequence of a furious attack of the villagers on a very small party of officers and men, in which two Chinese were shot dead, and one was severely wounded. When the official account has arrived, should the circumstances be interesting, I will give them in my next. The villagers are said to have acted most fiercely and courageously.

In the course of the last three or four weeks, five men have been killed or carried away from our three northern garrisons. From Ningpo a sailor is missing. At Chinhae a soldier was poisoned, the mate of the Ernaad's body found without a head, and one of the Lascars carried away, if not also murdered. From Chusan one of the Indian followers (here still called *native* followers) has been carried away. Thus five men have been killed or taken, most of them very near the British force, though of course out of hearing. By the by, *one* (the sailor here) is

* A mistake—only one or two houses were burnt at either place.

supposed to have been the person heard at night by the Queen steamer, crying out on the other side of the river that the Chinese were murdering him. The boat sent, however, could not find him. A soldier was also found drowned in a well, but is generally supposed to have fallen in accidentally. ——— and I are great friends, though I do not always chime in with his political views. He is very indefatigable and useful in getting information; and, if it often prove false, it is not his fault. People here are much prejudiced against him, but all make use of his services. He would be a great loss. He has the character of being fearless to rashness; but he relies on being reserved by Providence for great ends. I have taken a tutor at his recommendation, one of his hungry hangers-on, whom he styles "the Mandarin." The man was attached to some Mandarin. G—— thinks he is "an attorney." It would make you laugh to hear how precise G—— is in settling in English terms, the ranks of all the Chinese he has to do with. My tutor's knowledge of the law is more of a theoretical than practical kind. I fear he knows nothing

of *meum* and *tuum;* how could he? he never learnt Latin. I am warned to mind he does not rob me. I am to give him ten dollars a month; but shall take care not to pay him in advance. Gutzlaff says he is a proud fellow, and advises me not to be too familiar with him: — familiar indeed! He knows six words of English, and I, two of Chinese. Our familiarity must be of a very tautological nature. I need not admonish him with *pauca verba.* G. says he is of an obstinate and dogmatic nature. I am much the same, but there is no fear of our contradicting each other for some time to come. I expect to take my first lesson to-day; we commenced yesterday, but were interrupted. By the by, we *have* differed in opinion already. In coming here with me, his ambition was to walk abreast with me; but recollecting G.'s advice, I would not let him; and in order to frustrate his intentions, I stepped out fast, and he could not keep up. So much for our first struggle of dignity.

Since writing the above I have had my first lesson. I had written down some fifty English words. Mr. G. had kindly written the Chinese

of them opposite. My tutor read these, and I endeavoured to put down how to pronounce them. I hope to pick up a few words in this manner. Towards the end of the lesson, my tutor asked for tobacco by signs. To-morrow I shall have some for him.

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LETTER XIX.

Ningpo, 18th March, 1842.

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The season of operations was commenced by the Chinese, with a joint attack (10th inst.) on Chinhae and Ningpo. One tenth of the garrison of each place repulsed them with great slaughter. I was, unfortunately for myself, at Chusan on board the flag ship with the admiral and general when the attacks took place. At Chusan, the Nemesis steamer, and sixty seamen dispersed (without even a wounded man on our side) the preparations for attacking the capital of that island. Since our return, however, we have had a regular battle with a large force posted on very strong heights behind the town of Sykee. You will see the particulars in the newspapers.

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The chief loss fell on the marine brigade, being, I believe, a total of three killed and fourteen wounded, nearly all marines. The 49th had no killed, but five wounded: three of these were officers. The 18th and 26th detachments (for no entire regiment was at Sykee) having a long detour to make, came up too late for any thing but pursuit. The enemy are supposed to have been from 5000 to 8000 men strong. Our whole force (not half of which was engaged) was 1200 men, including, of course, the naval battalion.

The next day we marched five miles further to a very strong camp at the gorge of a lofty mountain; but the previous day's victory had had its effect, and we found nothing but provisions (a great quantity of bread), jingalls, bamboos, and mattings: for they had carried off their tents. We returned to Sykee by nightfall, and next day (yesterday) to Ningpo.

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The Emperor will be truly an obstinate fellow if he does not give in, when we have cut off the trade of the Yang-tse-Keang, and of the

Great Imperial Canal — *nous verrons.* I hope the war will be over in five or six months.

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The great operations in China are only commencing; but still I trust a few months will make such a change in Celestial politics as will lead to a glorious peace. "China" can be "opened" only by ball and bayonet.

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LETTER XX.

Ningpo, 20th March, 1842.

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The abortive attacks on Ningpo and Chinhae, and the General's subsequent victory of Sykee, you will read of in the dispatches and newspapers.

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The battle took place on the 15th; we returned to Ningpo on the 17th, and even already its good effects are evident in the return of our market, and the gradual re-opening of shops. We left the streets almost deserted; we find them now pretty crowded, and the inhabitants appear cheerful and comparatively confident. But the best result of the battle was the discovery, by the General himself, of a number of official documents, amongst which were the draft of a letter to be addressed to himself.

Hints for the plans of the attacks on Chinhae and Ningpo, with a short and not very correct account of the failure, which was, however, acknowledged as a failure. There were also accounts of Gutzlaff's kindness to the prisoners taken on that occasion, as also of the humane attentions of our surgeons to the wounded Chinese. But even Gutzlaff's translated extracts are too long to permit me to give you more than an outline of the whole. They contain much good sense and sound advice for their own cause, but also much nonsense and childish ignorance in their military tactics, particularly where the writer advises the Chinese to fight with the sword alone, to advance by files and take off barbarian heads, and then leave room for another file to advance and take as many more—a sad caricature of what is called in England, "street firing." Are the Barbarians expected to stand like poppies at an Eton Montem, and to let their heads fall without trying to stop them?

The most curious statements in these extracts of Gutzlaff's I must transcribe for you. They triumphantly prove the wisdom of the General's

policy, which so many have found fault with, and of which the Plenipo himself was inclined to disapprove. I allude to the kindness and forbearance shown by Sir Hugh Gough to the inhabitants of all the places garrisoned by his troops.

I must premise that these Chinese essays are somewhat deficient in politeness, and instead of the English or even the Barbarians, style us more frequently (perhaps for the sake of brevity) "the Thieves, the Robbers." Now for extracts. "Convinced that they never fear our open attacks, and even challenge our encounter, we ought to carry on our operations in the dark, and agitate the people as much as we can, cut off their provisions, and transfuse a silent horror amongst the multitudes. The nation, however, at large is lukewarm in our cause, and the Thieves" (that's for us), "instead of rousing them to resistance, endeavour to tranquillise the inhabitants. The villages have never been touched,—the people do not co-operate with us,—and we are in the minority. But we must terrify them by constant reports of sudden attacks, to make them withdraw from their sway and bring them on our side." Is not the above

a sufficient comment on the advantages of a mild policy?

Again, after alluding to our humanity to the prisoners and wounded, the writer says, "Now this shows that they are not such abandoned wretches as you would lead us to believe." (He is writing to some colleague doubtless.) "I tell you frankly my opinion, that our forces will never be able to recapture this city. You may think otherwise; but let me just show you the way to cause them to retire to Chusan:—Pay the million, and do no longer hesitate. You will never beat them in the field, and therefore pay down the money forthwith."

Once more, and this shall be my last extract, and you will I am sure look upon it as a most extraordinary and important confession on the part of this Chinese official, whoever he was. "The mass of the people remain neutral; for these rebellious Barbarians issue edict after edict (he alludes to Gutzlaff's proclamations issued almost daily by order of the General) to tranquillise them. They do not oppress the villages, and we have therefore lost our hold upon the fears and hopes of their inhabitants.

With our most strenuous efforts we have only prevailed upon robbers to join our cause, and these live in the eastern villages."

A steamer is going down immediately to Amoy, to bring up 300 more of the 18th, now in garrison at Kolongsu. When they arrive it is the General's intention, as soon as the Admiral is ready to co-operate with him, to commence a campaign which he hopes will in less than two months give him the ransoms of Hangchow and Nanking, and the command of the resources of the Yang-tse-Keang, and of the Great Imperial Canal. If the Emperor still resist after that, he must be mad indeed. Let us hope, however, that he will then see the necessity of giving in, and think himself too happy to get such easy terms, as they will then be considered, if we do not increase our demands.

The General does not intend waiting for the reinforcements from India and England, because now the weather is excellent for operations, whereas two months hence it will be getting very hot, and he is naturally anxious about the health of his troops. The 98th from England we almost daily expect out here; and

if it arrive in time for the Nanking campaign, so much the better.

From the quotations I have made from the Chinese documents, it is plain that our winter-quartering in Ningpo has been attended with most beneficial consequences. It has given the Chinese an opportunity of observing the justice and moderation of a British army, after experiencing its valour and skill; and it may also lead them to conclude it both safer and pleasanter to submit to our laws than to defy our arms. While advancing and fighting, the most humane warriors must appear barbarous and ferocious in the eyes of the vanquished. But in the calm repose of winter-quarters, the more amiable features of British civilisation have been displayed to the Chinese. We find by these papers that our real characters are beginning to be understood, and that prejudices are rapidly fading away.

I now begin to hope this year will see the conclusion of a war, the origin of which was not sufficiently clear and honourable to make one feel sure of its justice.

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LETTER XXI.

Ningpo, 22d March, 1842.

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We have learnt that the army we beat at Sykee was formed of the élite of the grand army, whose head-quarters are or were at Saougno. Yih-King, the viceroy of this province, and nephew to the Emperor, has since received an order from H. I. M., delivered by no less a person than the president of the board of war, to advance and attack us at once. If this order be obeyed, we shall be saved the trouble of a long march to Saougno, and the fate of Hang-chow may be decided at Ningpo. But when the Emperor sent that order, he had not heard of the attack and repulse at Ningpo, still less of the battle of Sykee. Still we are told that another division of the army has advanced to the same heights we were so lately masters of, though it remains to be seen if they will dare

to advance further.* We have now an abundant market; and therefore I doubt if the General will advance again till ready to quit Ningpo for good.

Doubtless the same means are resorted to to make them advance now, as were employed "to encourage them" at Sykee; where men were bound with their hands tied behind them, and their heads off, or dreadfully hacked. I don't envy the new division its advance to the heights over the corpses of their countrymen. Numbers of their bodies were half-roasted, for the lighted matches they carried set fire to the loose clothes of many fallen Chinamen; and it is to be feared that some of the wounded were burnt to death on the night of the battle. The horrors of war first struck me when the enemy had ceased firing, * * * *

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Two British sailors and a soldier, about fifty yards apart from each other, formed the points

* Gutzlaff's information here proved altogether false; for a reconnoissance having been made, no vestige of an army or encampment was discovered.

of a triangle, in which some six or eight Chinese were running helpless about over the paddy fields, some disarmed, and others with swords in their hands. Our three men were loading and firing at them as coolly as if they were crows, and bayoneting to death those who fell wounded. I endeavoured to stop them, but they paid no attention to me. A soldier who was following me in search of his regiment took a shot himself, and said to me, "If we don't kill them now, Sir, they will fight us again, and we shall never finish the war." The marines passed the night on their hill, in the tents of the enemy, as the 18th did on the hill taken by the 49th. The rest of the force were housed in the suburbs. I was much fatigued. The steamers had landed us four or five miles from Sykee. The General took up his quarters with the artillery, where *** fared very well, and where Gutzlaff got me a comfortable bed.

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But it was long dark before I left the Marine hill, where I drank off some raw brandy,

and brandy and water, and had nearly learnt to smoke too; but I only got half-way through a cigar. O how thirsty I was!

Next morning we burnt a magazine in the valley between the captured hills. We also plundered and burnt a Mandarin's house in Sykee, and allowed the people to carry away the contents of a government granary. No injury was done to the inhabitants. We then marched five miles to an encampment at the top of a lofty gorge; but the enemy had decamped, as I mentioned in my letter to ——. It was a fine day, and we had a delightful though fatiguing march up the steep and rugged hills, with a beautiful prospect from the top of them. In the building there which we burnt, I found some of what the officers call aide-de-camps' arrows — small arrows with a little red triangular flag attached to them, and which are, I am told, carried by messengers.

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Our soldiers found in the Sykee camp plenty of Sycee silver in the pockets of the Chinese soldiers, who had been well paid to

make them stand. For our men the battle of Sycee would be the appropriate name for the victory. The Hindoo followers of the army returned to Ningpo laden with silken plunder; and if their brethren in India hear of this, we shall never again have a scarcity of them.

I gave —— no extracts of the letter meant to be addressed to Sir Hugh, so I will give you some now.

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After speaking of the glory of the Chinese, the writer says, "In former times the English likewise appeared at court with tribute, and, therefore, they were permitted to have commerce with Canton, and to trade in woollens, calicoes, and watches." Again, a little lower, he exclaims, "Should a great country fear destruction from a small realm?" Then follow threats on the one hand, and promises on the other; and it is difficult, and happily unnecessary, to decide which of the two bear the palm of absurdity.

Take this specimen of the rewards intended for Sir Hugh, if he will merely "beseech to surrender his army, earnestly supplicating that

this offer may be accepted;" for it appears that it will be an imperial favour to accept of our surrender.

"As for yourself," continues the writer, rich "rewards will be showered upon you; you will become an object of the highest favour, and your name will become illustrious. Even your posterity will share in this. All will be imbued with the literature of the Celestial Empire, and having been well versed in Chinese lore, may even gain admittance to the Imperial College."

The Chinese appear, by the papers we found, to be strongly impressed with the idea, that we cannot march inland, nor do any thing without our shipping. The battle of Sykee has been the first step to undeceive them. We went up from Ningpo the greater part of the way by steamers, it is true; but the only difference, if we had marched all the way, could have been, that the battle would have been fought a day later. Not only are many of the shops opening here again, but I am told that many of the females and children (who were leaving the town on foot and in sedans in great numbers just before

the General went to Chusan) are now returning. They no longer believe that the time of our expulsion has arrived.

NOTE.

It was about this time that a printed paper was thrown over the wall, and being supposed to be hostile in its purport toward us, was carried to the interpreter. It turned out to be an address to us from some Chinese orator. It said amongst other things, to the effect, that, "after so long an absence, at so great distance, your mothers and sisters must be longing for your return. You have been away long enough; go back to your families; we don't want you here."

Absurd as this address was it deserves attention as showing the strong domestic affections of the Chinese. These to be sure were sometimes very slily employed. If a Chinaman of the hostile force wished to live in peace and avoid blows, he pleaded to his chief the necessity of attending on a sick old parent or grandmother.

LETTER XXII.

Ningpo, 18th April, 1842.

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Such slow measures will hardly satisfy the public at home, unless indeed they have by this time grown indifferent to our proceedings. On the 9th instant the General returned to Ningpo after another visit to Chusan and the Admiral. On the 3d day after our arrival on board the "Cornwallis" we heard of an attempt at Chinhae to destroy the shipping by fire-rafts, and also of an attempt on Mr. Gutzlaff's life at Ningpo, where no attack however had been made on the ships. At Chinhae two lascars were killed, and a mate and two seamen of H. M. S. "Blonde" much injured by explosions. The attempt on Mr. Gutzlaff was a signal failure in spite of the infernal machine which was lighted as he passed. It appears that the powder singed the whiskers of a drummer who followed him, but drummers have no business to wear whiskers. As to

Gutzlaff, he has latterly expressed very warm approbation of Louis Philippe, with whom he naturally feels strong sympathy, although in the case of the French monarch the injury of those near him on the occasion of Fieschi's salute was not confined to their whiskers. But every thing must be judged of by proportion: as Ningpo to Paris, so the Chinese infernal machine to the French infernal machine; I need not carry the rule of three further. The markets continue good, and a few shops are still open; but most of the suburbs and much of the town have been ruined by robbers. The houses are gutted, and frequently nothing is left but the walls. Truly Ningpo is a sad picture of the effects of war.

Kidnapping is becoming a most expert art in the hands of the Chinese. Just before the General's last visit to Chusan, a sergeant there had been carried off from the town itself, and while at Chinhae poison had been administered to three of the 55th, one of whom died of it. Since then the body of the soldier of the 26th, who was carried off five weeks ago, has been found in a canal without its head, but otherwise dressed in its uniform all correctly. The Ge-

neral has neglected no means of seizing the kidnappers, but how is it possible to do much with but one interpreter? All that one man can do, more than any other, perhaps, could do, Gutzlaff does; but he is not an Irish bird, and cannot be in even two places at once, far less in four or five as is desirable. The General himself marched five miles out of the west gate to the head-quarters of some kidnappers a few days ago. We brought home some prisoners, who with other criminals are to be sent to Hongkong in irons to mend their manners and our roads. Hanging would be too good for such cold-blooded murderers in my opinion. The day we marched to the offending village we were detained in putting out a fire in Ningpo. The General was very active, and had his cap cut through and the skin of his head cut by a falling tile, but luckily the injury was very slight. A small part of the kidnapping village (the houses of the chiefs) was burnt by the General's order; and thus we commenced by putting out and ended by putting in conflagration. We then hoped this example would give a check to kidnapping. This excursion

took place on the 11th instant; and three or four days after our return they made their boldest stroke. In one afternoon the Chinese carried off *here, at Ningpo,* a marine of H. M. S. "Modeste," and (a few hours later) two more men, one belonging and the other attached to the Madras artillery. Their fate we may guess by that of the soldier of the 26th.

I dont think I ever told you how my Chinese lessons were abruptly terminated after a very brief duration. While I was at Chusan on the General's last visit but one to the Admiral, my poor tutor disappeared. The day after the abortive attacks on Ningpo he had visited Gutzlaff at the magistracy, and made himself useful there; but from that time to this nothing more has been seen or heard of him. It is concluded that he has been kidnapped like numbers of other Chinese for aiding or having intercourse with the Barbarians. Alas, my poor tutor, they have probably taken his head off!

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The navigation of the Saougno river, on which one of our plans of advance depended,

has, like that of Hangchow, been found impracticable from the rapidity of the tides. But to Shapo (or Chapo) the navigation is easy.

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19th. For some days past there have been rumours that Elepoo, distinguished formerly for his peaceful disposition towards the Barbarians, is to be sent to treat with us. This however, if it has any foundation at all, is probably done to gain time. It is indeed improbable that they will accede now to terms they refused on the first arrival here of the Expedition. Six months' inactivity (with the exception of the Segoan affair †, by which we only gained a market) will hardly have added to the terror of our name. But very likely they wish to entangle us in negotiations until the season of operations shall have passed. In the meantime we hear, they are greatly strengthening Chapo by sending thither large reinforcements of troops. They seem to have given up all idea of attacking us, and have returned to defensive operations. We must

† The combat near Sykee was called "the attack on the heights of Segoan."

except their kidnapping system. Robbers and villains have been let loose to plunder and murder us. Several hundred more of these wretches have, according to Gutzlaff's information, arrived in Ningpo, or the suburbs. If any one is missed for even an hour, it is immediately reported, "he is bagged." This is however merely a metaphor. Only one instance of a *bag* has been reported in the literal sense of the term, and that requires confirmation. † The victim is gagged and bound and carried over the walls, or out through the canals. A boat was stopped the other day, in the stern of which one of our Chinese police was found gagged and bound. ——— wished to hang the boatmen.

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We have just heard of Sir W. Macnaughten's murder at Cabool together with a great deal of news from that quarter, which I trust is too bad to be true.

† Subsequent events fully established the fact of the *bag* being the general means of kidnapping.

LETTER XXIII.

Ningpo, 6th May, 1842.

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We positively evacuate Ningpo to-morrow; it is yet uncertain whether Chinhae is to be entirely abandoned; Chusan will be garrisoned during our absence to the north. I *believe* our present intentions are first to take Chapo on the left bank of the Hangchow river, and then to proceed to the famous Yang-tse-Keang. This is truly a grand operation for so small a force! What a long vista of speculation is before us! Who can tell what effect the approaching campaign will have on China and the East? We have nothing to dread but the elements and the climate; but these, if adverse, might nullify all our past successes. Any great delay between our evacuating Ningpo and striking an important blow, cannot fail to confirm the Emperor in his obstinacy; for he will doubtless receive a glorious dispatch of

our *expulsion* from this city. Should he continue obstinate, what course will be left to us? So small a force will never command more territory than it literally occupies. This is the case even here where we have staid so long; we cannot singly walk the streets in safety, though every gate is strongly guarded. We have no real friends, because it is known that our stay is but temporary.

Should the Emperor persist in his obstinacy many months longer, we must either permanently occupy a portion of China, or retire in despair from a contest, which the good people at home seem to consider so easy an affair.

Since I wrote last the kidnappers have been bolder than ever. Search having been made for a soldier of the 49th who was missing, his body (in consequence of information given to Mr. Gutzlaff) was found in a house not many hundred yards from head-quarters. He had been murdered in broad daylight, strangled, bound, and *bagged*, with the view of being carried over the walls at night. He was servant to one of the officers and a very powerful man. A strong rascally-looking Chinaman was

found concealed in the same house. This house and a few others near it were burnt the same evening by order of the General. The rage and excitement of our soldiers in consequence of this murder have been very great; and many innocent Chinamen will, I fear, rue the iniquity of these murderers. At the same time I believe that murder is the result of resistance rather than of premeditation, as the Mandarins give greater rewards for live than dead Barbarians. This event occurred on the 28th of last month, and on the 30th another attempt was made; but this time it was outside the town in the north gate suburb. A young sailor of H. M. S. "Columbine," having strayed from his boat, was seized with violence and nearly carried off; he escaped, however, by the sudden and unexpected use of his knife on the kidnappers, and joined his comrades who were not far off. The villains escaped, but their boat with cords and a bag was found in a neighbouring canal. This is truly a celestial, enlightened, and flowery empire, where they carry on war by such grand means as bagging the enemy. They are keen sportsmen and are becoming very expert.

About the same time another marine was carried off at Chinhae, as also a black cook. We hear they have a collection of prisoners at Hangchow, so all have not yet been murdered. In the course of the 30th the whole of the north suburb was burnt down.

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On going out late in the afternoon, I was surprised to see the suburb still burning, as the General had been informed that only a few houses were burnt, and that the fire was out. I went to the spot; a few houses only remained, and these were soon burning.

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I saw one large Mandarin house burnt, and never beheld a finer sight in my life. The house was two stories high, each story with a separate tiled roof; when the smoke had cleared away, the sides fallen, and the wooden pillars alone supported the roofs, the scene was very grand. The abundance and dryness of the wood materials caused a rapid conflagration, and all that was seen besides the pillars and

roofs were two huge rolling seas of concentrated flames. A small portion of the building fell first; a few minutes later the whole of the remainder rocked as if shaken by an earthquake, retired half a step *en masse*, and then fell like magic, leaving scarce a vestige of even a wall standing. There is, however, every reason to believe that by such proceedings we are playing the game of the Mandarins, whose aim it is to make us odious to the people—hitherto indifferent and apathetic; for the kidnappers merely act for rewards, and are probably strangers from Hangchow. I doubt whether it is sound policy to punish the inhabitants for not informing against the kidnappers. It is unreasonable to expect cheerful obedience, where we are unable to extend protection; and it is notorious that we are not numerous enough to protect, from the vengeance of their own government, any great numbers of the people. To effect this we should be obliged to garrison every street, nay almost every house. Neutrality was all we had reason to expect; indeed, it is sad to think what may be the fate of the few who have been active in our favour. My

only consolation is my strong suspicion that these men have been playing double, a matter of indifference to us who had nothing to conceal, and all to learn. The indignation of both officers and men here, against the Chinese, is very great and very natural. I am glad however that our chief judges as coolly of the business, as all of us on reflection shall do a few years or even months hence. Nevertheless I take good care of myself, for it must be no joke to be bagged and *made game of* for these rascally Mandarins, whether we be killed or kept alive in cages. I regard every ill-looking Chinaman in Ningpo, as a pheasant or partridge may be supposed to eye a keen sportsman; except, that unless the odds were very great, flight would in my case hardly be proper. If the Fokies (as we call them) look grave, we say, "See the sulky villain." If, on the other hand, they smile, we exclaim, "Oh, the hypocrites! they smile now, but how quietly they would bag you if they dared." If, lastly, they avoid us or run away, it is, "After them, they know their guilt, or they would not be afraid." In addition to this,

some of the soldiers, and especially the followers, if no officer is by, purchase things at their own prices, and beat and ill-treat poor Foky.*

Is it wonderful they do not exactly *love* us? Still, on the whole, thanks to the general's unwearied exertions, those who have dealt with us have been great pecuniary gainers; but the mass of the houses, the owners having fled, have been plundered and ransacked. I am not sorry for this, as the Chinese have themselves been the criminals; for it may serve to hasten peace, to see that the Barbarians, in spite of their own comparatively orderly behaviour, leave a track of desolation behind them. For if our visits did their towns *no* harm, they would hardly make peace; unless they feared we were to be permanent occupiers. At the same time, if we were the willing agents of all the mischief, the inhabitants might possibly rise against us *en masse*. I consider, therefore, that events have turned out here very favourable to our character, and to the success of the expedition.

* *Foky*, the Chinese word for *friend*, was with us the common appellation of all the natives.

"On board transport Marion, "*Just in the way*" Anchorage, between Chinhae and Chusan, 9th May, 1842.

On the 7th instant, Ningpo was quietly evacuated. In consequence of the prudent precautions taken by the General and Mr. Gutzlaff, our departure was the most orderly thing imaginable. Mr. G. had got a number of the respectable inhabitants to take upon themselves the government. A militia was established, and the robbers no doubt greatly disappointed. Early in the morning the gates were given over to the Chinese. The General himself, accompanied by Mr. G. and myself, and escorted only by two orderlies, went and superintended the giving over of the north and west gates, as also the picquet in the market-place. An unarmed set of ragamuffins took possession. Pikes they had, we understood; but for fear of giving us offence, these were concealed till we were gone. Some of the respectable municipal government (as G. would style them) accompanied the General to the gates.

Finally, the troops all embarked in three steamers, bands playing and colours flying. I did not see, nor hear of a single drunken

soldier. Neither was there one absentee. At Chinhae the troops were placed by the steamers on board the transports, and in the course of that day and the next (yesterday), the whole disposable force was collected in this anchorage. The Admiral arrived here yesterday afternoon in the flag ship "Cornwallis," whither I this morning accompanied the General. We were here again before noon, at which time all the vessels of war fired a royal salute in honour of the Prince Royal of England. As the troops cannot fire on board, the General had given directions that all should cheer after the navy had saluted. We began here on the head-quarters ship, and the rest of the force took it up. What a power is England! Here in this distant quarter of the globe, a few thousands of her sons — sailors and soldiers — are inspiring terror in a great empire, and insuring future respect for their queen and her infant heir from 300 millions of souls. The English will henceforth be respected in China as elsewhere, and they will never again deem it necessary to submit to degradation or ill treatment to obtain the highest commercial advantages. These must be the results of the expedition, *for us.*

For the Chinese there will be liberty and enlightenment, if they have virtue and sense enough to know and use their power. What respect can they continue to have for their own government, when they compare it with ours? Their chiefs rely on treachery, bribes, and assassination. The English are only dreadful as open enemies. How can the Chinese continue to believe in the power of their "great Emperor," when a few thousands of what he styles Barbarians (but they know better) set him so easily at defiance, and take and retain his towns at pleasure. An immense revolution of opinions must be fast working here. Many Chinese boys in our service are already ashamed of their countrymen as compared with ours, and could not be prevented from cutting off their own tails themselves; though this has hitherto been considered a most degrading punishment. I hope we shall be off to Chapo in a day or two. We are all impatient.

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At five, the General and a large party dine with the Admiral, to celebrate this interesting

occasion — the first of its kind upon these celestial waters.† We are all to be in full fig. I never yet wore my full uniform in this expedition; nor have the Chinese had occasion to be dazzled with the brilliancy of officers' undress uniforms, most of which are very well worn. For the expedition has always been a thing to be over in six months, so that it was never worth while to get out clothes.‡

11th May. A French frigate, L'Erigone, has arrived to-day with a few letters from Hongkong and Singapore. A report has also arrived that the December mail is lost. I hope, however, this is not true. But it is ascertained to have left Calcutta, and should long since have been in China. The spring tides are delaying our advance on Chapo.

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P.S. We have had a few days of great heat already this year: but at present, and on the whole, the weather has been wonderfully cool.

† The celebration of the birth of the Prince Royal, now Prince of Wales.

‡ From India, where most officers had left the bulk of their baggage.

To-day at 1 P. M., the thermometer is 67° in my cabin.

NOTE.

Not long before the evacuation of Ningpo, a report was brought very early one morning to Mr. Gutzlaff, that the head of his Chinese police, who resided about a quarter of a mile from head-quarters, had disappeared, as also one of his wives, while the other lay murdered in the house. Mr. Gutzlaff, a soldier, and myself, proceeded to inspect the house, to see if we could trace any signs of the murdering kidnappers. We found the woman lying on the floor with her throat cut. She had been dead some hours. While looking at her, I observed what appeared like thin brown slips of bamboo loosely fastened many times round her wrists; and remarked to Mr. G. how singular it was that they should have found it necessary to bind her. But he exclaimed "*those are her nails,*" and true enough it was, as I found when I looked close. It appears that fine ladies are in the habit when

going to bed of softening their nails in warm water, and then winding them round their wrists to prevent their being injured. The appearance of the wrists being bound round *so many times* was not so wonderful when you consider that *five* long nails were to be thus secured on each wrist.

LETTER XXIV.

Rugged Island's Anchorage, on board the "Marion," 29th May, 1842.

I SAID I would give you an account of the taking of Chapoo, but I find the whole has been so accurately described . . . . that I shall not dwell on it much. The landing from the transports by means of steamers, which brought us very near the shore, was a very pretty sight. Soon after the General landed (which he was one of the first to do), he advanced with his staff and orderlies to the top of the nearest hill. I was sent a little ahead to see that no enemy lurked on the other side; and by this means had the first view of the richest and most luxuriant plain I ever saw. Except the small chain of hills, which we were about to assault, all the rest was a boundless level of rich fields (principally, as usual, of rice), dotted with clusters of blue-tiled cottages. The slopes of the hills, too, were more verdant and wooded than

any thing I had before seen in China; and close to the western extremity of these hills lay the town, with its walls covered with creepers.

Of the active business of the day, I will only say that the first check we met with was from our own navy, whose shells retarded the advance of one column, and had nearly been fatal to some of the other. All these shells fell before and among us, at a time when even we on shore could see no enemy; and when the steamers who fired at us ought to have seen our red coats as plainly as we saw the vessels.

But for the General's flank movement, so well executed by the 2d column (the 26th Cameronians leading), I incline to think we should have been too late to catch our retiring foes. As it was, the greater portion were seen decamping in the distance. The rest, finding their retreat in a great measure cut off, took a resolution from despair — fought bravely — and were most of them killed. A party of about 300 Tartars took refuge in a house, situated in a small valley close to the suburbs. The 18th and 49th blockaded them; but they were not vanquished before the guns had been

brought up, and, with the rockets, had nearly destroyed the building. About forty of them survived as prisoners, who, on the morning of our evacuating Chapoo, were set at liberty by the general, with three dollars each from the captured pice. By far the greater part of our casualties ocurred at this house. Colonel Tomlinson of the Royal Irish was killed on the spot. Captain Campbell of the 55th has died since of his wound. Colonel Mountain fell, struck with four balls; but I am happy to say he is doing well on board this ship. Several other officers were wounded; but all this you will have read, ere this reaches you, in the papers. The enemy did not defend the town, which we found apparently almost entirely deserted. Chapoo fell on the 18th, and we evacuated it on the 27th. It rained during the greater part of the time we were there; but the days of our arrival and departure were fortunately very fine. The Tartar city is separated by a wall from the rest of the town, and the little houses are built with the regularity of an encampment. The inhabitants of this part were all soldiers, and arms were found in all the houses. Arsenals

were also found in other parts of the town. All arms and military stores were destroyed. Besides matchlocks, gingalls, and heavy ordnance, an immense number of bows and arrows was destroyed. They do not appear ever to use these against us, with the exception of rocket-arrows, a few of which they discharged at Sykee. Most of the Tartar houses were empty; the fugitive soldiers having, no doubt, carried away their families with them. Still small parties, chiefly of women and children, were found huddled together, who (their friends having probably fallen) had nobody left to care for them. Alas! in spite of every humane effort to prevent it, the greater portion of these, in the course of a few days, killed themselves or each other, by hanging, throat-cutting, and poisoning. Some of these Tartar women were good-looking. They do not cramp their feet like the Chinese. I saw one that in European clothes would have passed for a lady-like pretty person. She had two or three children — one of them a remarkably fine handsome boy of about eight years old. One of this little fellow's male relations had been arrested in the act of

killing him. Some of them destroyed themselves by mixing poison with opium — poison with poison! As usual, there was every reason to believe that opium had been used freely by the Chinese soldiery. This opium, though it cannot teach our foes how to fight, nor inspire them with much confidence, yet seems to imbue them with a fiendish obstinacy; causing them to destroy themselves and their families when they find themselves defeated. Now we know very well, whatever he may threaten, that the emperor by no means puts fugitives indiscriminately to death; nay, we have heard but very few instances of his having done so. I do not therefore think the fear of his wrath accounts for these horrors; but I attribute them chiefly to the maddening effects of extra doses of opium, taken to infuse what we call (very unfairly) *Dutch courage.* Thus our crime is made our scourge; and the opium sellers are the allies of our foes, lending them (probably from the emperor downwards) an obstinacy and courage not their own. I hope our very kind treatment of the prisoners, and the evident humanity of the general, may gradually prepare

the Chinese government to yield to our terms; for, by merely defeating little sections of their enormous force, we shall never conquer them.

A peaceful overture was indeed made, soon after the taking of Chapoo, through the medium of our old friend, Corporal White; but no reliance could be placed on proposals coming through such a low deceiver. On the 27th, we re-embarked on board our transports; and though the wind was foul, yet, by aid of the tide, we anchored before night nearly half-way to these islands, where we arrived this forenoon, and remain for the present.

The General is going to revisit Chusan and Chinhae before proceeding to the Yang-tse-Keang. * * * * * Our reinforcements from England and India will soon be at Chusan; and we shall then be strong enough to take Pekin, should the emperor continue obstinate.

I forgot to tell you that my bed at Chapoo was made on the high altar of a temple, before a fierce-looking god, whom the Hindoo followers had disencumbered of his silken attire. He looked very terrible by moonlight!

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On the day of re-embarkation, I had been up at four in the morning, and was for several hours in the sun, in the heat of the day; and, after a four o'clock dinner, I took a nap on deck. At about six, I went and lay down in my cabin, meaning to sleep an hour or so; but I never awoke *till four next morning*, when I found myself lying with not even my fur jacket off. My servant told me he had brought a light at the usual hour, at night, and had attempted to take off my boots, but that I would not let him, &c.: of which I had not the slightest recollection. It was like the sleep of death.

NOTE.

The Author was inclined to have expunged, from the preceding letter, the account of the steamer's firing on the troops; but, on second thought, he has left it to stand with this explanation: — The fact, itself, is notoriously true; but it appears, that, owing to their own smoke, the steamers could not see us.

As in families, so in the best regulated services, accidents will occasionally happen.

Au reste, the unwearied exertions and invaluable services of the steamers (both Company's and Queen's) throughout the whole course of the expedition, are beyond all praise.

LETTER XXV.

Transport "Marion," off Woosung River,
24th June, 1842.

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The cannonade of Woosung by the fleet was a pretty thing; but owing to three of the steamers getting aground, the troops were not landed till long after the enemy had disappeared. The seamen and marines landed. From forty to fifty of the enemy were slain * * * *. The same evening an attempt was made by the Chinese to disarm a Sepoy sentry. Woosung is a pretty village. Pouchang, a mile and a half up the coast to the eastward, is a small walled town * * * *. When the land forces reached it, the enemy had fled.

Two days later a portion of the forces, the smaller vessels and steamers (the latter carrying the 26th, 55th, 2d M. N. I., and some artillery), proceeded some 16 miles up the Woosung river, which falls into the Yang-tse-Keang. The 49th,

18th, the Madras Rifles, and the rest of the artillery starting earlier than we did, proceeded by land, and arrived first at their destination. This expedition was planned to get a million of dollars, as a ransom for Shanghai; but that town would not pay it. A few guns were fired on the North Star frigate, and the steamer Tenasserim from a land battery, but it was soon silenced. This firing of the enemy was the more extraordinary from the fact of our land force being already masters of the town.

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We all observed how much less Shanghai was deserted on our approach than any other Chinese town we have seen, as also the friendly spirit of such of the inhabitants as remained, who were, however, it must be confessed, the dregs of the people.

Lord Saltoun, and the 98th from England, together with another batch of Indian reinforcements, arrived while we were at Shanghai.

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The head-quarters and greater part of the troops while at Shanghai, were quartered in buildings round an ornamented pond, covered

however with green vegetation. In the centre of the pond was a little house two stories high, built on artificial rocks, and connected with the square by long zigzag bridges. In this picturesque little spot, the officers of the 55th held their mess, some of them sleeping in the rooms above.

The head-quarter house, whose balcony was close to the edge of the pond, is called by the Chinese, "The Hall of the curious Duck-weed." From sleeping every night close to this pond, I caught a kind of slow fever.

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LETTER XXVI.

On board "Marion," off Chinkeangfoo, Yang-tse-Keang River, 30th July, 1842.

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It is really worth while to have come to China were it only to see this magnificent river, and be among the first who in European shipping have stemmed its currents.

What between the sun and the bullets, we sustained some loss in taking this place.

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I was very nearly done from heat and fatigue, and should have been quite so had the affair lasted an hour longer.

With a thermometer of upwards of 90° in the shade, and my irritability in heat, it is wonderful I escaped so well. Two officers and fifteen men actually died of *coups-de-soleil* the day we took the town. * * *

Two officers were shot dead, and some dozen wounded. Two more (one Com^{s}. 49th) have died since of cholera; several others are still ill of it — some dangerously. I fear it is gaining ground amongst our soldiers.

NOTE.

The cholera subsequently spread very rapidly. The 98th, in particular, have lost a great many men.

All the operations that followed, though slow, were very interesting. I have no wish to trespass on the province of the navy, by attempting to describe the skill with which the fleet was brought into the Yang-tse-Keang.

The indefatigable and successful exertions of the surveying officers, Captains Collinson and Kellet, were beyond all praise; and never ceased till we were safely at anchor before Nanking.

We, who looked on from our transports at the bombardment of Woosung, will not easily forget the gallant style in which "the Blonde"

(Captain Bouchier) placed itself before the enemy's strongest fire, thus bearing the brunt of action, as it proved by its list of casualties; though all the other vessels were equally eager for a warm post.

On the other hand, the capture of Chin-keangfoo was *entirely* a land affair, and closed the war.

From some naval pen we shall doubtless have a good account of the Yang-tse-Keang, on which I will only say a few words.

Unless the Mississippi and Missouri are to be considered as one river, then, the Amazon being the first, the Yang-tse-Keang is the second river in the world in point of length.

If you consider, however, the countless canals which it supplies with water, to keep under constant irrigation the surrounding country, the commerce which it carries on its breast, the fruitfulness displayed on its banks, where the richness of the foliage and the greenness of the herbage are quite astonishing; if, lastly, you add the depth and volume of its waters, it has some claims, I conceive, to the very first place among the rivers of the globe.

In going up the river, nautically speaking the left, geographically the right, bank of the river is the most picturesque side. The ranges of hills were frequently quadruple, the nearest sweeping down gracefully and gradually towards the river. The other side for a long way is very flat.

The neat little villages were frequently, if not generally, placed in an angle formed by a canal and the great river. The villagers as we passed crowded towards the mouth of their canals. Great, doubtless, was their astonishment at the noble and, to them, novel sight of a British fleet of war ships and transports, the latter glistening with scarlet. None of these men had ever seen a ship more powerful or larger than a Chinese junk of war. No greater astonishment would probably have been felt by a pigmy of yore, at first view, of any of the giants, " men of renown," who lived in " those days."

The horrors which followed the capture of Chinkeangfoo are most of them fresh on the memory of the public. Though the author did not witness it, there is no doubt of the

fact of one of the Tartar generals having burnt himself to death in his own chair.

When the town was taken, the author, who was nearly dying of thirst, broke into some houses and drank a quantity of cold tea; but his thirst was not half appeased when he heard there was a well of beautiful water in the neighbourhood. He hastened to try it. Never had he quaffed any thing more delicious. He recommended it to his friends. The well was universally extolled; and it was not, I believe, till the following morning that nine bodies of women and children were found, which had been thrown into it, when the enemy despaired of success.

The interior of the Tartar part of the town stank of mortality for many days after the capture. There were also many dead in the small houses in the suburbs. On one occasion, on looking into a low little tent made of mattings, the author saw a corpse hanging by what appeared like a piece of twisted linen. The knees of the corpse were bent, the toes were on the ground. Such was the desperate resolution of the Tartar nation generally.

NOTE.

A few days after the capture of Chinkeang-foo, the author, in company with a couple of other officers, was entering the town, when we met a young Tartar woman coming out with a child in her arms. She was good-looking and interesting, but evidently in great distress of mind. She had probably lost her male relations in the late attack. As we came near, she fell on her knees before us; yet half averted her head, as if it was painful to look at us. We endeavoured in vain by signs to reassure her and make her rise; and at last we passed on, leaving her in that posture. She was near the gate, and so no doubt soon departed in safety. But it was a most affecting sight.

LETTER XXVII.

Off Nanking, 21st August, 1842.

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The suspension of hostilities, all the chiefs here are certain, will end in permanent peace. To-morrow the peace is to be signed by the imperial commissioners, and a fortnight later the Emperor's ratification will arrive.

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Yesterday there was what the Quihis call a grand *Tomacha* (how do you spell it?)†, on board the flag-ship. The three commissioners, the second of whom is old Elepoo (the same who would not kill or hang Anstruther), paid a visit of ceremony to our three chiefs. There were the usual guards of honour, &c. The

† This letter was addressed to a person in India. Quihi is the nickname of the English in Bengal, from their constant use of the word, which is their way of calling their servants. It means "Who is there?"

commissioners came alongside in a steamer, and the Admiral's boats brought them on board—some twenty persons, including all the attendants. The first commissioner, being a *relative* of the Emperor, took precedence, and wore a *yellow* girdle. The second, Elepoo, being of the imperial clan or kindred, that is, a co-descendant only of the Emperor's, wore a *red* girdle. The third commissioner wore a *blue* girdle. In face, they were common, coarse, mean-looking fellows, but well made and stout (except old Elepoo), and graceful and dignified in carriage, particularly old yellow girdle.

The next man in importance to the commissioners was the Tartar general: but while they wore a red, he only wore a white button, though three of his staff wore *blue*, the intermediate class between red and white. The button, as Davis correctly says, is only a decoration; but it is generally regulated by a man's rank; and I found, as I had guessed, that the Tartar general had been disgraced by the Emperor, and yet (a common case here) not deprived of his command. It was droll to see three men of superior decorations attending on him.

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This disgraced Tartar was the only fine-looking man in visage of the whole party. Some of the officers, blue buttons too, whom Gutzlaff calls colonels, were very mean-looking fellows: nor did their acts belie their appearance.

At tiffin they pocketed all the sweetmeats *sans cérémonie:* but that was when the big wigs (Chinese as well as English) were not present.

To morrow the English chiefs go on shore to visit the commissioners, and sign the treaty outside the town; for the Tartars will not, they say, suffer us to go in at all without blood-shed.

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The Chinese have confessed that full powers to treat were not given at Peking, till they had heard there that Chinkeangfoo had been taken and destroyed.

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22d. In consequence of heavy rain over-flooding the roads, the meeting and signing are put off till to morrow.

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LETTER XXVIII.

———, 4th Sept. 1842.

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I wrote you an account of the first visit of the celestial commissioners to the British flag-ship. A few days later our chiefs returned the visit in a joss house outside the town — in one of the suburbs. The boats took us very near, and there were a great many sedan chairs, for those who chose to be carried. I accepted one, not imagining the place of meeting to be so near as it was. The British escort consisted of the grenadier company, and band of the 18th Royal Irish. When we came to the court-yard of the appointed house, we walked through two rows of Tartar soldiers, armed only with small triangular flags, about 3 feet long. Crowds of people looked on, as crowds

of boats had lined the creek up which we came. The place of meeting was certainly paltry; and altogether it was a poor affair compared with the visit to the flag-ship. Sir Henry sat in the centre with the General and Admiral on either side, and next to them the commissioners, Lord Saltoun, and the military and naval officers. The lower part of this and the whole of the outer room were crowded with British officers. Old Elepoo, who sat between the general and Lord Saltoun, was the chief object of interest. Major Anstruther was presented to him by the General, to express his gratitude to his former preserver. The Major's appearance excited no little amusement. For want of a full uniform of his own, he had donned that of a naval post-captain, and looked very sailor-like. All the interpreters were busily employed, *carrying* on conversation to and fro: Gutzlaff, Thom, T. Lay, and last, not least, little Morrison with his sharp intelligent face, all in their Sunday best.

The chief commissioner, Keying — old yellow girdle — was full of royal curiosity

about epaulettes, embroidery, and gilt buttons. There was a poor sort of tiffin laid out, cakes, sweetmeats, and so forth. The warm wine spoken of by Davis was handed about, and really had not a bad taste; but the weather was too hot to enjoy any thing warm. Tea of the first quality was also handed round.

The English and Chinese bands played alternately outside in the courtyard. Ours excited great admiration, especially from the lower Chinese. Of theirs one was tempted to exclaim with the clown in Shakespeare, "If you have any that cannot be heard, to it again."

When the time of departure arrived, the commissioners came out as far as the outer court with their guests, and there took leave.

The next visit was a private one to the commissioners by the plenipo, to transact business, and a day was then appointed to sign and seal on board the flag-ship. It was, however, put off on account of the illness of old Elepoo. This old gentleman sent an officer on board the "Queen" steamer for some medicine

recommended by the surgeon. The officer, named Chang, though a blue button, is a disreputable character, and he got drunk in the gunroom. The consequence was that he lost the label which should have accompanied the medicine, and thus Elepoo swallowed at once, what should have lasted three days. It nearly killed him. In the mean time the Emperor's consent to the treaty, as sent to him in the rough, arrived, with only one objection: viz., to the trade with Foochoufoo. However, as Sir Henry would not yield, the commissioners signed the treaty on the 29th August, on board the flag-ship "Cornwallis." You will read the treaty in the papers, it is a glorious one for England; and yet, considering the hold we now have on their empire, does not bear very hard on the Chinese.

On the day of signature old Elepoo was so feeble from the unlucky dose, that he was obliged to be carried from the boat to the cabin, and to lie on a sofa the greater part of the two or three hours the commissioners remained on board. It was quite a touching sight to witness the enthusiastic yet respectful recep-

tion, by British officers, of this benevolent old Mandarin, who was almost too feeble to bring his hands together in the Chinese mode of saluting.

Before business, we were all presented to *His Royal Highness*, Keying.

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I was obliged to go through the cabin, in at one door and out at the other — a miniature caricature of the court of St. James's.

The Admiral gave the Commissioners a capital tiffin; and royalty, especially, seemed pleased with the wine, cherry brandy, and other cordials.

A couple of days after the signature, the two steamers, Tenasserim and Sesostris, were despatched with the news to Calcutta, and to England *via* Bombay.

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I am sorry to say that the General, the strength of whose constitution has excited the wonder both of navy and army, has of late not

been very well. On the day of signature he nearly fainted.

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The last intelligence of the General's health was much better.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A FEW concluding remarks upon our past and future policy in China, are offered with diffidence, merely as the author's own opinions, and nothing more.

The origin of the late war with China may be passed over very briefly; because, upon this subject, so much has already been written, affirmed, denied, and defended.

The seizure of the opium by Linn was undoubtedly the great immediate source whence the causes of the subsequent rupture flowed. It was the circumstances attending that seizure, and the mode of carrying out his plans, which were made the ground of complaint against Linn and his master. The real offence lay in the loss of the opium; the pretext was the insult to the representative of the British government.

But the fact was, that matters had long arrived at such a state between the two nations,

that nothing but force could apply any but a very temporary remedy. With a few occasional exceptions, the English had too long submitted to the insults and unjust exactions of the Chinese provincial government; and the insolence of the latter rose with the patience and forbearance of the former. Such a state of things could not last long after the arrival of a British representative of Majesty, who could hardly be expected tamely to submit to the insults long borne by those who sacrificed every thing to their immediate commercial prosperity. The English were inspired by the knowledge of their own power, if exerted. The Chinese were emboldened by impunity, as well as by their jealousies and fears, to continue that intimidation which they had so long found successful.

The time, however, was at last arrived when it became necessary that one nation should bend to the other. The struggle began with Lord Napier. The Chinese triumphed over the speculative timidity of our government, and grew more insolent than ever. The result was inevitable. There arose a confused entanglement of

interests — a denial on either side of both right and might on the other — in short, a Gordian knot, which diplomacy could not untie, but which the sword has cut.

The Chinese government, grown daily more jealous of our increasing power in Asia, was fearful we should establish a footing in its dominions, in the south of which our influence was daily augmenting.

That the yearly loss of their silver was also a great matter of regret there can be no doubt; though it is by no means certain that the horror expressed against opium by his celestial majesty was equally sincere. But, at any rate, his principal motives of action were grounded upon more important and less evitable dangers. Was the Chinese government in error? Yes; but in this only, that it over-estimated its own strength. It was not aware of the immense superiority which our naval science and military discipline give us over half-civilised antagonists. In all other respects the Chinese rightly foresaw their danger. Their fears are beginning to be realised. The first blow has been struck; and the future conquest of China appears *almost*

inevitable. At least the difficulty of avoiding future collisions is very great. But of this hereafter.

Fearful of the charge of presumption, the author will only slightly touch on the conduct of the expedition to China; but he cannot refrain from making a few general remarks.

During the period that preceded the first treaty, the indecision displayed was doubtless owing in a great measure to the uncertainty of the views of the home government,—an uncertainty shared by the British public in general. This was not to be wondered at. A war with China—a war, whose consequences could not be calculated, and were yet of such importance for the future, was not to be lightly entered into. Yet to shrink from it in moral cowardice, appeared alike degrading and impolitic. Hence that doubt and irresolution, which terminated only with the rupture of the first treaty; and with the at last acknowledged necessity of humbling, at all risks, the government of China.

The attack of Canton, with a force which, including the naval brigade, did not exceed

3000 men, was the first step taken to convince the Chinese of our power. If, instead of compelling our general to take a ransom, Captain Elliot had then declared, "I will make no separate treaty for Canton. You must surrender your town or make a permanent peace for the whole empire," the war would, in all probability, have terminated in that city.

As to the talk of humanity, that was cant — sheer contemptible cant. How did we prove our humanity? Thus: by allowing the guilty city, the cause of the quarrel, the seat of our many degradations, to ransom itself; and then immediately turning our bloody wrath against cities and people who did not for some time even know what we wanted.

Canton ransomed, the general peace might be considered *more distant than ever:* for then we had to look around for another great city, at once important and vulnerable. When we arrived before Nanking, that town, after the example of Canton, wished to make a separate treaty for itself. Fortunately for us, however, the Emperor, on hearing of the capture and almost total destruction of Chinkeangfoo, de-

spatched full powers to treat for a general peace.

What an illustrious personage is said to have observed on hearing of the first capture of Ghuzni, applies, though not in the same degree, to our recent successes in China: *the difficulties have only commenced.* The author does not allude to any uncertainty of the Emperor's keeping faith; not being of the number of those who attach such immense importance to the value of the imperial signature. Our security lies in the fact of six of the 21,000,000 having been already paid; and *still more* in the well known earnest desire of the Emperor to recover his lost islands, which he now despairs of regaining by force of arms. Even should the war again break out, which Heaven forbid, six millions of dollars, added to the six taken at Canton, is no bad yearly instalment, *en attendant* the final adjustment.

But the *diplomatic difficulties* did not terminate with, but, on the contrary, *commenced from, the treaty of Nanking.* That treaty was made by cannon and musketry, and established

by knock-down arguments. Under such circumstances, the ordinarily tortuous paths of diplomacy were, as far as immediate negotiations were concerned, made straight and easy to the conquerors: but the making and carrying into effect the regulations for future commercial intercourse with the five ports mentioned in the Appendix* will be no easy matter. The chief difficulty, however, will be to preserve peace.

No sensible or humane person can desire another contest with the Chinese; yet great skill and judgment will be required to avert the evil. It will be quite as necessary in future to protect the Chinese from the violence of European adventurers, as the Europeans from the insults of the Chinese.†

Fortunately, the present Plenipotentiary is universally considered fully equal to the diffi-

* The Appendix contains the official document published to British subjects in China, on the signing of the treaty of Nanking, by the commissioners of both nations.

† Since the appearance of the first edition of this little book, the news from China has confirmed both the necessity of restraining the Europeans, *and* Sir H. Pottinger's firmness and determination to restrain them.

cult task of controlling the commercial and political confusion, which more or less threatens us in a country where the real weakness of the government is now first apparent to its own subjects, as well as confirmed to strangers.

If, adopting our usual Eastern policy, we interfere in the internal concerns of China, other European nations will follow our example; and wars, not confined to Asia, will be the too probable consequences.

We must, therefore, continue to exercise the moderation displayed in the treaty of Nanking, and allay the fears of the Chinese as to our views of territorial aggrandisement.

But this will never be the case, if we suffer any of the missionaries in China to combine *political* with religious views. We must not permit the doctrines of Machiavelli or Robespierre engrafted on those of our Saviour, to be preached in that country; though there exist persons who imagine most unwisely that the Christian religion can be propagated by fire and sword.

If peace is to be maintained, if the aim of

conquest is sincerely repudiated, it will be requisite to invest the authorities in China with very great powers, which will be necessary also to secure commercial prosperity to England and India.

APPENDIX.

CIRCULAR.

To Her Britannic Majesty's Subjects in China.

HER Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c. in China, has extreme gratification in announcing to Her Majesty's subjects in China, that he has this day concluded and signed, with the Chinese High Commissioners deputed to negotiate with him, a treaty, of which the following are the most important provisions: —

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars, in the course of the present and the three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Forchonfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants. Consular officers to be appointed to reside at them, and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

4. The island of Hongkong to be ceded in perpetuity to Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be in confinement in any part of the Chinese Empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the Emperor, under his imperial sign manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British Government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments.

8. On the Emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first 6,000,000 dollars, Her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and the military post at Chinhae to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Kolongsu are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

In promulgating this highly satisfactory intelligence, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c. purposely refrains from any detailed expression of his

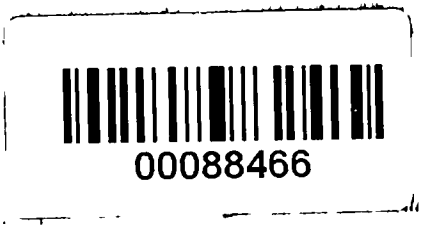
own sentiments, as to the surpassing skill, energy, devotion, and valour which have distinguished the various grades, from the highest to the lowest, of all arms of Her Majesty's combined forces, during the contest that has led to these momentous results. The claims which have been thus established will be doubtless acknowledged by the highest authorities. In the meantime Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary congratulates Her Majesty's subjects in China on the occasion of a peace, which, he trusts and believes, will, in due time, be equally beneficial to the subjects and interests of both England and China.

God save the Queen!

Dated on board the steam frigate "Queen," in the Yang-tse-Keang River, off Nanking, this day of August, 1842.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.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Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016